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OF THE
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JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD.

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PREFACE
TO VOLUME SECOND.

WHEN this volume was begun, it was my purpose to bring its contents down to the accession of Queen Anne of England, and the chapters embracing the years between 1691 and 1702 are ready for the printer. But, by the affluence of original authorities, and the temptation to use them, perhaps, too liberally, this book, in spite of laborious condensation, may have grown unfashionably large; and these chapters must be reserved for another volume—should the public manifest a desire to learn more of early New York, down to the inauguration of Washington.

Descended from an English officer who helped his king to conquer Dutch New Netherland, as well as from a colonial Hollander who stood up manfully for his Republican Fatherland, I feel no partiality in telling the history of the greatest European plantation in America. My object has been to exhibit the truth honestly and minutely. In doing this, I have long and carefully studied the received authorities relating to the colonial annals of our country, and also all that I have seen, recently brought to light. If I have missed my aim, let my failure be imputed to incapacity rather than to lack of industry or candor.

JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD.

New York, February, 1871.

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HISTORY

OF THE

STATE OF NEW YORK.

CHAPTER I.

1664.

THE year sixteen hundred and sixty-four found the strongest powers of Europe on the brink of a fierce war. That war determined the fate of New York.

In France, Louis the Fourteenth was pushing up to its pinnacle the idea of absolute monarchy. The king was himself the state. Laborious and untiring, Louis had the rare faculty of choosing well his subordinates. Colbert became his minister of finance; Lionne, of foreign affairs; Louvois, of war. Condé, Luxembourg, and Turenne, his victorious generals, earned him bloody renown. The French king was a devout son of the Roman Church. But, above all other characteristics, he had the instinct of grandeur and the thirst for glory. "There is stuff enough in him," said Mazarin, "to make four kings and an honest man." If Louis was not the greatest sovereign, he was "the best actor of majesty that ever filled a throne." More than any other monarch, he had "the marvellous art of reigning." Supreme in France, he wished to sway all Europe, and to that end he directed his subtle diplomacy. He soon established a control over the half French king of England. With the United Netherlands he made a treaty of alliance. But the system of bribery by which Louis succeeded almost every where else, failed when it was used against the chief servants of the Dutch Republic.

After the death of the second William of Orange, in

CHAP. I. November, 1650, the dignity of stadtholder had remained
 1664. in abeyance, and the Dutch executive authority had been administered by statesmen whose political opinions were opposed to those of the deceased prince. One of these opinions was that the almost royal power which the stadtholderate gave to the house of Orange was dangerous to the republic. A few days after the death of William, his widow, who was the daughter of Charles the First of England, gave birth to a son, whom she desired to name Charles, but who was baptized William Henry, in the great Dutch Church at the Hague. He succeeded his father as William, the Third Prince of Orange. This event roused the apprehensions of the Louvestein, or aristocratic party, at the head of which was the young John De Witt, a disciple of Descartes, already conspicuous for his ability, firmness, and integrity. So highly were his talents and prudence esteemed, that he was frequently called "The wisdom of Holland." His mind was well compared with that of Richelieu. In 1653, De Witt was made Grand Pensionary of Holland, and thenceforward he became the real chief magistrate of the republic. To gratify Cromwell, he procured an act of the States excluding the Prince of Orange from the office of stadtholder. Upon the restoration of Charles the Second to the throne of England, this act, so insulting to his nephew, was repealed. De Witt, nevertheless, remained at the head of Dutch affairs, which he directed with consummate skill and nearly regal authority. His country had reached the zenith of its prosperity and glory. Domestic trade and manufactures maintained a growing population in content and abundance; while foreign commerce, searching every shore of the globe, poured continual riches into the warehouses of Holland and Zealand. An alliance had secured the friendship of France. A similar treaty promised peace with England; and Charles, solemnly professing gratitude and affection toward the Dutch people, confided to the States of Holland the guardianship of his infant nephew, William of Orange. With the king apparently so well disposed, it seemed as if enduring friendship was established between the two great Protestant nations of Europe—continental Holland and insular England.

The Dutch Republic and William the Third.

John De Witt.

It was an interesting circumstance that the royal family of Great Britain was connected with the King of France and the Prince of Orange in a nearly equal degree. Toward Louis and William, Royalist Englishmen felt much more kindly than did the men of the Commonwealth. But Englishmen generally hated both Frenchmen and Hollanders with strong national antipathies. The court poets praised the frivolous French, whose fashions were imitated at Whitehall, while they lampooned the honest Dutch, whose national virtues were a reproach to their king and to themselves. Even the most accomplished English scholars were superciliously ignorant of the literature of Holland, then so rich in varied learning. Yet, with all their affectation of contempt, the English were intensely jealous of the Dutch, whose enterprise, outrunning their own, had established a profitable commerce in Asia and Africa. The Navigation Act of the Commonwealth, devised to cripple the foreign trade of the Netherlands, was made more vindictive just after the Restoration. Dryden but uttered the envy of his countrymen when he wrote of the Hollanders—

CHAP. I.

1664.

England
and her na-
tional an-
tipathies.

“As Cato fruits of Afric did display,
Let us before our eyes their Indies lay;
All loyal English will like him conclude,
Let Caesar live, and Carthage be subdued.”*

Nevertheless, there was no cause of war between England and Holland. The British sovereign ostentatiously professed his own good feeling toward the nation which he allowed his courtiers to abuse. But there was no faith in the frivolous King of England. Of all her monarchs, Charles the Second was the meanest and most insincere. If Louis of France was the best actor of majesty, Charles of England was the greatest dissembler that ever sat on a throne. He did not lack talent, nor education, nor the training of adversity, but he did lack conscience, a sense of shame, and an honest heart. His early years had been passed in his father's palace, whence he had been driven into strange lands. During the period of the Commonwealth he had wandered among princes and peoples, enduring vicissitudes of fortune which few royal personages

Charles the
Second.

* Satire on the Dutch, 1662.

CHAP. I.

1664.

ever had the advantage of enjoying, but profiting nothing from an experience which should have made him one of the greatest of kings. At the age of thirty years he was recalled to England and crowned its sovereign. But Charles brought back with him from his exile no proper sense of his kingly office. Like a prodigal heir, who possessed an estate after long nursing by a prudent guardian, he came home to Whitehall, eager to expend a splendid inheritance. His selfish heart, and easy temper, and glib tongue enabled him calmly to put by every embarrassing question of public concern, while he submitted himself to the most degrading influences. It followed that the reign of Charles the Second was the most execrable of any in the annals of England.

James,
Duke of
York.

Charles had a brother, three years younger than himself, James, Duke of York and Albany. As the king had no legitimate offspring, the duke was heir presumptive to the British throne. Although married to a daughter of his brother's chief minister, James was a cold-blooded libertine; and, while he professed to be a Protestant, was gradually becoming a Roman Catholic. His temper was harsh and obstinate, his understanding slow, and his views narrow; but his word was sacred. He loved the details of business as much as the king detested them, and with all the method of a conscientious clerk, he seemed to work for work's sake. To aid in supporting his dignity, the revenues of the post-office, estimated at about twenty thousand pounds a year, were settled on the duke by an obsequious Parliament. One of the first acts of the king was to appoint his brother lord high admiral of England. In executing the duties of this office, which involved all the administration of the navy, James was assisted by a Board of Admiralty, of which John Lord Berkeley, of Stratton, and Admiral Sir William Penn, were commissioners, Sir George Carteret treasurer, and Samuel Pepys clerk. The duke's own private affairs were managed by three commissioners, Sir William Coventry, who also acted as his secretary, Henry Brouncker, and Thomas Povey, who was likewise his treasurer and receiver general.

The duke's
commis-
sioners.

There was at this time, properly speaking, no ministry to conduct the public affairs of England. The privy coun-

cil were the nominal advisers of the sovereign. Each department of the government was directed by a counselor responsible for his own acts, but not for those of his associates, as is the modern British cabinet minister. The most important, and by far the most able of the king's servants, was the lord chancellor, Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and father-in-law of the Duke of York. The secretaries of state were Sir William Morrice and Sir Henry Bennet, afterward Earl of Arlington. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Ashley, and afterward Earl of Shaftesbury, was president of the council, and Thomas, Earl of Southampton, lord high treasurer. These five chief ministers were collectively called "The Cabal," or cabinet. The affairs of the colonies and foreign plantations of England were managed by a council appointed by the king, consisting of the chief officers of state and others, among whom were Lord Say and Sele, John Lord Berkeley, Sir George Carteret, Denzil Hollis, Robert Boyle, Sir William Coventry, and the poet, Edmund Waller. They were specially instructed to acquaint themselves with the condition of each colony, correspond with the governors, cause the Act of Navigation to be strictly executed, provide for the settlement and maintenance of "learned and orthodox ministers," and endeavor to bring the several colonies into more certain uniformity of government, and render "those dominions useful to England, and England helpful to them."*

Of all the servants of Charles the Second, the one whose influence was at this moment most pernicious was Sir George Downing, his envoy to the United Provinces. Downing was a nephew of the elder John Winthrop, and was one of the earliest, ablest, and basest graduates of Harvard College in Massachusetts. He was sent by Cromwell ambassador to Holland, where he insulted his exiled king; but as he was "capable of managing a bad design," he was forgiven and taken into the favor of Charles at the Restoration. Those who knew Downing best described him as "a crafty, fawning man," a "perfidious rogue," a "most ungrateful villain," and "a false man who betrayed

CHAP. I.

1664.

Ministers
of Charles
the Second.The En-
glish
"Cabal."Plantation
council.

Downing.

* Pepys's Diary (Bohn's ed.), II., 312; III., 167, 328, 331; Letters of D'Estrades, II., 437; Espin., II., 635; Lingard, XII., 206; Macaulay, I., 211, 212, 273; IV., 435; New York Colonial Documents, III., 32-36; Sainsbury's Calendar of State Papers, I., 492, 493, 494; 1664, vol. I., p. 6-9.

CHAP. I. his trust." The renegade certainly seems to have merited
 1664. his damaging portrait. "If we may believe history, he was
 a scoundrel." He was "keen, bold, subtle, active, and
 observant, but imperious and unscrupulous; naturally pre-
 ferring menace to persuasion; reckless of the means em-
 ployed and the risk incurred in the pursuit of a proposed
 object; disliking and distrusting De Witt and the Dutch,
 and forearmed with a fierce determination not to be foiled
 or overreached."*

Downing's
 evil influ-
 ence.

Downing lost no opportunity to inflame English jealousy
 of the Hollanders. His correspondence with Lord Chan-
 cellor Clarendon, who seems to have as much to do with
 the foreign department as the secretaries Morrice and Ben-
 net themselves, exhibits a constant desire to provoke the
 king into a war with the United Provinces. Pretexts were
 not wanting. The Dutch East and West India Companies
 were charged with colonial aggressions. Charles, howev-
 er, disliked hostilities, although he hated De Witt, whom
 he considered the chief obstacle to the advancement of
 his nephew, William of Orange. The Duke of York, on
 the other hand, absolutely detested the Zealanders, who
 had punished, less promptly than he wished, the authors of
 some libels against himself. Besides, said Clarendon, "hav-
 ing been, even from his childhood, in the command of
 armies, and in his nature inclined to the most difficult and
 dangerous enterprises, he was already weary of having so
 little to do, and too impatiently longed for any war in
 which he knew he could not but have the chief command."
 Moreover, James was the governor of the new Royal Afri-

Englishne-
 gro slaves.

Origin of
 "guineas."

can Company, which, besides selling their negro slaves "at
 the Barbados, and other the king's plantations, at their own
 prices," imported into England from the coast of Guinea
 "such store of gold that administered the first occasion for
 the coinage of those pieces which from thence had the de-
 nomination of *guineas*." The Dutch West India Company
 were accused of injuring the duke's African interests; but

* Hutchinson's Massachusetts, i., 111, 510; Savage's Winthrop, ii., 240-243; Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., xxxvi., 536-544; Palfrey's New England, ii., 431; John Adams's Works, x., 329; Pepys, i., 264, 265; Evelyn, ii., 8; Burnet, i., 785; Lister's Life of Clarendon, ii., 231; D'Es-
 trade's Letters, ii., 363, 364; N. Y. Col. Doc., ii., 416-418 note; *ante*, vol. i., p. 790. There
 is a curious narrative of an interview between Charles the Second and Downing at the
 Hague, while the latter was Cromwell's ambassador, in the Antiquarian Repertory, and in
 the Universal Magazine for November, 1779, vol. lxx., p. 245.

even Downing could not make out a fair case against them. Nevertheless, Sir Robert Holmes was secretly dispatched with a squadron to the coast of Guinea, where he seized the Dutch fort of Cabo Corso, and committed other acts of aggression, which Lord Clarendon afterward admitted were "without any shadow of justice."*

CHAP. I.

1664.
February.

Another motive influenced the mind of James, and eventually governed the action of Charles. This arose out of the condition of affairs in North America. There, for nearly half a century, England, France, and Holland had each, with various success, endeavored to appropriate territory and plant and rear dependent colonies. France, the pioneer, had first pushed her adventurous way through the valley of the Saint Lawrence, and had set up the emblem of her national faith beside the banner of her king among the savage tribes which inhabited its borders. Thus arose her dominion over New France, or Canada and Acadia. Farther south, England had clung to the sea-coast, the clear waters of which were alive with the finest fish, and where commodious harbors invited her emigrants to linger near those crystal waves which could roll unbroken to Land's End. Yet England had not explored nor occupied the whole of that more southern coast. Midway between Virginia and New England—in a region, the most of which no European eye had seen before—colonists from Holland, following the track of the Half Moon of Amsterdam, planted themselves, without question, among the native Americans, from whom they bought the soil, and thus added a NEW NETHERLAND to the Dutch Republic.

European colonies in North America.

Canada.

Virginia and New England.

New Netherland.

The progress of the various enterprises by which these several territories were first colonized has already been minutely traced. Each has its own peculiar history, eventful, romantic, and instructive. Of none of them were the motives of the projectors or the views of the promoters exactly alike. Canada was peopled by Europeans, speaking the French tongue, and professing the Roman faith. New

* Pepys, ii., 68, 128; Clarendon's Life, ii., 232-234; Lister's Clarendon, ii., 241, 251, 258-262; iii., 288, 290, 301, 302, 347; Basnage, i., 711; Aitzema, iv., 579; D'Estrades, ii., 364, 425; Lingard, xii., 165-168; Rapin, ii., 636; Davies's Holland, iii., 19, 20, 25; Anderson's Colonial Church, ii., 279, 280; Cobbett's Parliamentary History, iv., 292, 293; ante, vol. i., p. 738. Anderson, in his Origin of Commerce, ii., 473, 526, seems to think that guineas were first coined in 1673. But Pepys, ii., 483; iv., 26, alludes to them, in 1666 and 1668, as already at a premium in London.

CHAP. I.

1664.
Motives of
coloniza-
tion.

English in-
solence.

Cromwell's
recognition
of New
Nether-
land.

Admirable
situation
of New
Nether-
land.

Netherland was colonized by Protestant emigrants from a fatherland which had conquered in the most glorious strife for civil and religious liberty that the world has ever witnessed. Virginia was occupied by loyal Englishmen who admired the hierarchy; New England chiefly by Puritans who abhorred prelacy; Maryland by larger-minded Roman Catholics. But all these were Britons, who spoke the tongue of Shakspeare and Milton; who, much as they differed among themselves respecting creeds or fashions, were the subjects of one common sovereign; and who, arrogant and exclusive by nature, looked upon other races as their inferiors, and willingly combined against them as national foes. Their hereditary hatred of foreigners accompanied the English emigrants across the Atlantic, and even burned more brightly in some parts of the wilderness. There was a constant tendency on their part, and especially among the New England Puritans, to quarrel with and overbear both their neighbors, the Roman Catholic French of Canada, and the Protestant Dutch of New Netherland. This tendency had already resulted in the conquest of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, from the French, by order of Cromwell, in 1654. That acquisition the Protector declined to restore, and made it a British province. His design to reduce the Dutch possessions, which were the more coveted because they were so advantageously situated, was abandoned in his treaty with De Witt, by which England virtually conceded New Netherland to Holland.*

The Dutch province was indeed the most admirably situated region in North America. Its original limits included all the Atlantic coast between Cape Henlopen and Montauk Point, and all the inland territory bounded by the Connecticut Valley on the east, the Saint Lawrence and Lake Ontario on the north, and the affluents of the Ohio, the Susquehanna, and the Delaware on the west and south. Within those bounds is the only spot on all the continent whence issue divergent streams which find their outlets in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Gulf of Mexico. Diagonally across its surface runs a

* Charlevoix, ii., 199-204; Chalmers's Political Annals, i., 187; Pepys, iii., 126, 344; Williamson's Maine, i., 361; Palfrey's New England, ii., 372; Proud, i., 281; Grahame (ed. 1848), i., 406; Smith, i., 287; *ante*, vol. i., p. 586.

chain of the Alleghanies, through which, in two remarkable chasms, the waters of the Delaware and the Hudson flow southward to the sea. At the head of its tides, the Hudson, which its explorers appropriately named "The Great River of the Mountains," receives the current of the Mohawk rushing in from the west. Through the valleys of these rivers, and across the neighboring lakes, the savage natives of the country tracked those pathways of travel and commerce which civilized science only adopted and improved. Along their banks grew up flourishing villages, all contributing to the prosperity of the chief town, which, with unerring judgment, had been planted on the ocean-washed island of Manhattan. In addition to these superb geographical peculiarities, every variety of soil, abundant mineral wealth, nature teeming with animal and vegetable life, and a climate as healthful as it is delicious, made New Netherland the most alluring of all the European colonies in America. From the first, it was always the chosen seat of empire.*

CHAP. I.

1664.

Its physical characteristics.

It was an admirable decree of Providence which ordained that this magnificent region should first be occupied by the Batavian race. If originally as homogeneous as the English, that race had certainly become less selfish and exclusive. The well-considered policy of Holland attracted to her shores many of whom their own lands were not worthy. This magnanimity was rewarded by almost unexampled national prosperity. After achieving their own independence and establishing a republic on the basis of religious toleration, the Dutch colonized the American province which they had discovered, and at the same time invited strangers of all races to come and find homes along with themselves in its temperate and attractive territory. The Batavian emigrants brought with them the liberal maxims of their fatherland. Soon, eighteen different languages were spoken in New Amsterdam.† Thus, by degrees, grew up the germ of a mighty cosmopolitan state. In spite of the stunting mismanagement of the West India Company, to which its government had been unwisely intrusted, New Netherland gave early promise of coming

Influence of its Dutch founders.

* Lecture on the "Topography and History of New York," by Governor Horatio Seymour, Utica, 1836; also Cullen, in Col. Doc., vi., 122; Doc. Hist., iv., 122.
† Doc., vol. I., p. 374.

CHAP. I.

1664.

The territorial question in North America.

grandeur. The fatherland scarcely appreciated the trans-Atlantic dominion which its emigrants had founded. But the growing greatness of that dominion, which had long excited the jealousy of its New England neighbors, at length moved both the pride and the cupidity of the English court to seize it as a royal prize.

To estimate properly the course which Charles the Second now pursued, we must consider the irreconcilable views of title to American territory which the English and the Dutch severally maintained. They may be stated thus: As Columbus had discovered the New World, which should have borne his name, in the service of Spain, the Pope granted it to the Spanish sovereigns. A few years afterward the Cabots, under commissions of Henry the Seventh of England, discovered Newfoundland, and sailed at a distance along the North American continent as far south as the latitude of Gibraltar. By virtue of these discoveries, the English sovereigns claimed dominion over all that part of North America along the coast of which the Cabots had sailed. But, as the previous sweeping title of Spain was in the way of the English claim, Queen Elizabeth, in 1580, announced the principle that "prescription without possession is of no avail;" or, in other words, that actual occupation must follow discovery in order to confer a valid right. Accordingly, England did not question the title of France to Canada and Acadia. But, as the discoveries of Verazzano and of Gomez, farther to the south, did not lead to French or Spanish colonization, James the First granted a patent in 1606, under which the English asserted an exclusive right to colonize all the Atlantic coast between Cape Fear and Acadia not "actually possessed by any Christian prince or people." Under this patent no English mariner had searched the shore between Buzzard's Bay and the Chesapeake, when Henry Hudson, in 1609, in the service of the Dutch East India Company, explored "the great River of the Mountains." This gave the Hollanders an unquestionable title by discovery, which they soon fortified by farther visitation and actual occupation. In 1614, the States General granted a trading charter which recognized "New Netherland" as a Dutch territory. Six years afterward, James the First granted, in 1620, a second patent for "New

England in America," which included all the region between the fortieth and the forty-eighth degrees of latitude, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. But his patent expressly provided that no territory was intended to be granted which was "actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian prince or estate." This proviso clearly excepted New France and New Netherland. Nevertheless, from the time of the landing of the first Puritan emigrants on new Plymouth beach, the English pertinaciously insisted on styling the Dutch occupants of New Netherland "intruders" into New England. With inconsistent logic but characteristic assurance, they maintained their own title under the patent of James, while they denied that of the Hollanders, which was recognized in its proviso. This they continued to do, although the House of Commons in 1621 confirmed Queen Elizabeth's doctrine, and insisted that "occupancy confers a good title by the law of nations and nature." In 1635, the grantees of the New England patent conveyed to the Earl of Stirling the territory of Pemaquid, between the Saint Croix and the Kennebeck in Maine, and the island of Matowack, or Long Island. The Dutch, however, utterly denied the English claim to any part of Long Island, and expelled Lord Stirling's agents. At length Peter Stuyvesant, the director of New Netherland, by a treaty made at Hartford in 1650, surrendered to the English all the territory south of Oyster Bay on Long Island, and east of Greenwich on the continent. This treaty was ratified by the States General in 1656, but no reciprocal action was taken by the British government. Cromwell, however, after directing an expedition to take New Netherland, recognized the Dutch title by the treaty of 1654; and no demonstration was afterward made against what New England men pertly considered "a thorn in the side."*

CHAP. I.

1664.

Canada
and New
Netherland
not in the
New En-
gland Pat-
ent.

Conflicting
Dutch and
English
claims.

Thus stood the question when Charles the Second was restored to the throne. The antipathy of the Puritan colonists of New England against their Dutch neighbors in New Netherland, which to some extent seems to have moved the

* *Ante*, vol. I., pages 4, 11, 36, 63, 64, 96, 139, 250, 252, 519, 532, 563, 566, 621, 625, 643, 653, 656. *Charles's State Papers*, I., 564, 721, 722; II., 419; *Mass. H. S. Coll.*, xxxii., 230-232; *Massachusetts Calendar*, I., 204; *Chalmers's Political Annals*, I., 6, 82, 83; *Kennett's England*, vol. 402; *Parliamentary Debates*, I., 250, 251; *Smith*, I., 287; *Proud*, I., 281; *Palfrey*, II., 371, 372. *Smith*, I., 287, errs in attributing to Richard Cromwell the instructions given by Oliver in February, 1654; and *Grahame*, I., 402, follows *Smith*; see *ante*, vol. I., p. 582.

CHAP. I. Protector, had no similar influence on the king. Charles had no sympathy with the likes or the dislikes of his New England subjects. His restoration had been a sore disappointment to them. They had received the tidings with "scrupulous incredulity." They had acknowledged him as king with a very grim austerity. Constant complaints were preferred against them at Whitehall. In the summer of 1661, Henry, the fourth Earl of Stirling, complained to the king of the "intrusion" of the Dutch upon Long Island, and petitioned that they might be subdued or expelled. Lord Stirling's petition was referred to the Council of Plantations, at the head of which was Clarendon. But before any action was taken, the king granted to John Winthrop a charter for Connecticut, which appeared to cover a large part of New Netherland, together with "the islands thereunto adjoining." The charter, however, was violently opposed; and it finally passed the great seal in April, 1662, with the understanding that the king would "send Commissioners into those parts, who upon the place should settle all differences and pretences upon the bounds of each colony." In the following September, Clarendon declared in the Plantation Committee that the king would dispatch commissioners, and the Duke of York was requested "to consider of the choice of fit men." Charles himself, in April, 1663, announced to the Privy Council that he intended to send commissioners speedily to New England, "to see how the charter is maintained on their part, and to reconcile the differences at present among them."*

The English Navigation Act.

There was another subject which was now pressed upon the king's attention. The Navigation Act of 1660 had been openly disregarded or clandestinely evaded in the British American plantations. One of the chief obstacles to its execution was charged to be the existence of the Dutch province. The trade carried on between New Netherland and New England on the one side, and Maryland and Virginia on the other, was alleged to be "very much to the prejudice of England, and to the loss of his majesty, in re-

* Chalmers's Pol. Ann., i., 249, 250, 253, 256, 257, 293, 356, 432; Col. Doc., ii., 389; iii., 32, 42, 43, 55; vii., 431; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxii., 284; Duer's Life of Stirling, 31; Trumbull's Connecticut, i., 523; Col. Rec. Conn., i., 581; ii., 3-11; Palmyre, ii., 549-549, 574, 575; ante, vol. i., p. 153, 7-2, 720; N. Y. H. S. Coll. (1869), 1-57.



spect to customs, many thousand pounds yearly." Lord Baltimore, the Proprietary of Maryland, promised to "do his best to prevent" this trade; and Sir William Berkeley, the royal governor of Virginia, was ordered to enforce the law. Still, the intercolonial traffic was continued. Parliament accordingly enacted a new law in 1663, which prohibited the importation of European commodities into the English plantations, except in English vessels from England. In June of the same year, the Privy Council ordered all the American governors to enforce this act, which the king was determined to have "very strictly observed, in regard it much concerneth the trade of this kingdom." At last, in December, 1663, the farmers of the customs, who were paying the king nearly four hundred thousand pounds a year for their monopoly, demanded redress for the "great abuses committed and done as well by the inhabitants and planters on, as by the masters, mariners, and traders to, Virginia, New England, Maryland, Long Island, etc., who, under pretence of furnishing some of those plantations and other his majesty's dominions, do both, by land and water, carry and convey great quantities of tobacco to the Dutch, whose plantations are contiguous, the custom whereof would amount to ten thousand pounds per annum or upward, thereby eluding the late Act of Navigation and defrauding his majesty." This brought the question to a crisis. The Navigation Law, meant to cripple the commerce of the Dutch and foster that of the English, must be maintained. It could be enforced, and it was enforced in England. It was evaded, and it could not be enforced in America as long as New Netherland existed as a Dutch plantation. New Netherland, therefore, must no longer exist.*

This convenient and characteristic logic was exactly adapted to the situation of Charles the Second. The readiest way to sustain it was to insist that New Netherland was "the true and undoubted inheritance of his majesty," and to subject it accordingly to English rule. It so happened that three persons had just before this time come

CHAP. I.

1664.

New navigation law.

England resolves to seize New Netherland.

* DeFetres, II., 312; Chalmers's Pol. Ann., I., 243, 260, 261; Holmes, I., 330; Anderson on Commerce, II., 475; New Haven Rec., II., 510-512; Col. Doc., III., 40, 41, 50, 209, 210; Gerardus Beersden, II., 458; III., 308; Statute 15 Ch. II., cap. xvii.; Grahame, I., 92; Bancroft, vol. 60; Dudley, II., 566; ante, vol. I., 685, 702, 725, 735; N. Y. II. S. Coll. (1869), 1-57.

CHAP. I.

1664.

Scott, Baxter, and Maverick testify.

Clarendon's opinion.

23 Jan'y.
The Dutch maintain their rights.

over to London, who were admirably qualified to stimulate English animosity against the Dutch colonists in America. These persons were John Scott and George Baxter, who cherished no "good opinion of the law" under which they had smarted in New Netherland, and Samuel Maverick, a zealous Episcopalian who had formerly lived in tribulation in Massachusetts. All the three made universal professions of loyalty. Scott, especially, was clamorous for a royal grant to him of the government of Long Island, nearly the third part of which he pretended to have purchased. But Lord Stirling's claim, which had not yet been acted on by the Council for Plantations, stood in his way. The three American witnesses, however, were called before the board, and ordered to draw up a statement of "the title of his majesty to the premises; of the Dutch intrusion; of their deportment since and management of that possession, and of their strength, trade, and government there; and of the means to make them acknowledge and submit to his majesty's government, or by force to compel them thereunto or expulse them." The result of these witnesses' labors and of Downing's arguments from the Hague was to satisfy Lord Clarendon that New Netherland belonged to the king, and that it had been "only usurped" by the Dutch, who had "no colour of right to pretend to" its possession. The chancellor's opinion, although it was utterly inconsistent with truth and reason, was conclusive. The difficult point was that the Dutch were, and for half a century had been, in uninterrupted possession of the Valley of the Hudson and its neighborhood. How the English could best gain possession became the question.*

It was certain that the government at the Hague would not acknowledge any English pretension of right to Dutch New Netherland. The States General had, indeed, just directed their ambassador at London to insist on "the determination of the boundary line" between the English and Dutch possessions in North America. They also requested the king to issue orders "for the immediate restoration of the towns and places in New Netherland invaded by his subjects within the aforesaid limits, and for the cessation

* Col. Dec., III., 46, 48, 105; Ulster's Clarendon, III., 276, 347; Hutchinson's Massachusetts, I., 147; Collection, 389, 381; Palfrey, II., 564-567, 583; Aspinwall, in Mass. H. S. Proceedings, 1862, 66-72, note; N. Y. H. S. Coll. (1863), 19-67; ante, vol. I., 579, 620, 671, 725.

of all further usurpations." Of this action Clarendon was promptly informed by Downing, to whom De Witt had also spoken about the "encroaching" of the English upon the Dutch in New Netherland. "It would be good, I think," was the crafty envoy's advice to the chancellor, "after three or four months' delay, to give them for answer that his majesty will write into those parts, to be informed of the truth of the matter of fact and right on both sides." The next month, referring to the complaints of the West India Company against the aggressions of the English, he suggested "if his majesty think fit to leave that matter to me, I shall deal well enough with them."^{*}

CHAP. I.

1664.

15 January.

12 February.

Yet Charles and his ministers were for some time perplexed whether they should view the Dutch "intruders" as subjects or as aliens. At length the king's course was determined. In spite of treaties, at the risk of war, it was resolved that the principle announced by Queen Elizabeth and affirmed by Parliament in 1621 should be repudiated and reversed. New Netherland must be seized at all hazard, and the English claim by "prescription" must be maintained against the Dutch title by actual discovery and continuous occupation. An expedition "against the Dutch in New England" was ordered. But this was kept profoundly secret, lest the States should send a squadron to aid the weak garrison at Manhattan. A quiet grant to the king's own brother would be both the readiest assertion of title and the best apology for any consequences. This, indeed, had been decided upon before Scott returned to America with the royal orders to enforce the navigation laws. Its execution was perhaps hastened by his report to Under Secretary Williamson of the condition of affairs at the western end of Long Island.[†]

English expedition ordered.

29 February.

Lord Stirling's interest was accordingly purchased by Clarendon for his son-in-law, who promised to pay for it three thousand five hundred pounds. Long Island, of which the greater portion was already subject to the crown, being thus secured to the Duke of York by a color of title,

The Duke of York's patent.

* Col. Doc., II., 224-229; *Alfzema*, v., 64, 65; *Holl. Merc.*, 1664, 13-15; *Lister's Clarendon*, II., 276, 277, 278; *ante*, vol. I., 730.

† *Goldie's America*, 1-9; *Chalmers's Rev. Col.*, I., 116; *Col. Doc.*, II., 302, 324, 325, 332, 333, 339, 400, 407; *III.*, 47, 48; *New Haven Rec.*, II., 510, 515; *ante*, vol. I., 725, 726. On the 22nd of February, 1664, a warrant for £4000 was issued on account of the expedition against New Netherland; *Am. and W. I. (S. P. O.)*, 372.

CHAP. I. the rest of New Netherland was added by the mere word
 1664. of the king. The Connecticut charter was entirely disregarded. A patent to James was prepared, to which his

12 March.

Territorial
 extent of
 the Duke's
 patent.

The duke's
 powers of
 govern-
 ment.

father-in-law hastened to affix the great seal. The description of the premises conveyed was framed in part from Lord Stirling's original grant, which Clarendon borrowed for the purpose. By his patent, Charles the Second granted to his brother, and to his heirs and assigns, the territory of Pemaquid, in Maine, between the Saint Croix and the Kennebeck, "and also all that island or islands commonly called by the several name or names of Matowacks or Long Island, situate, lying, and being towards the west of Cape Cod and the Narrow Hligansetts, abutting upon the main land between the two rivers there called or known by the several names of Connecticut and Hudson's River; together, also, with the said river called Hudson's River, and all the land from the west side of Connecticut to the east side of Delaware Bay, and also all those several islands called or known by the names of Martin's Vinyard, and Nantukes, otherwise Nantuckett." The inland boundary most consistent with this description was "a line from the head of Connecticut River to the source of Hudson's River, thence to the head of the Mohawk branch of Hudson's River, and thence to the east side of Delaware Bay." The grant "was intended to include all the lands which the Dutch held there." These territories were to be held of the king in free and common soccage, and under the yearly rent of forty beaver-skins, when demanded. The patent invested the Duke of York and his heirs, deputies, and assigns with "full and absolute power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule" all British subjects inhabiting the territory, according to such laws as he might establish, and in cases of necessity according to the "good discretions" of his deputies, provided that such laws should be, not contrary, but agreeable to the statutes of England. It granted him authority to appoint and discharge all officers, execute martial law, regulate trade and the tenure of lands, send out emigrants "not prohibited or under restraint," expel all persons living under his government without his license; and it declared that, notwithstanding any uncertainty or imperfection, or any former grants to any other persons,

or any statute to the contrary, this patent to the Duke of York should be "good and effectual in the law, to all intents and purposes whatsoever." This instrument, clearly defective in many material points, was much less cumbersome than those which the kings of England had previously sealed to American proprietaries. It was the most impudent ever recorded in the colonial archives of England. But its crisp clauses warranted all that a despot could desire.*

The duke's parchment title now appeared to be complete. The next step was to give it validity by obtaining possession. James was informed that his newly-patented territory might yield him thirty thousand pounds a year, and he was anxious to enjoy his anticipated revenues, peaceably or by force. To this end, it was necessary that the person to secure and govern the prize should be well selected. The duke was singularly fortunate in the choice he made. There was at this time in his household Colonel Richard Nicolls, a gentleman whom he had long known, and in whom he justly felt great confidence. Nicolls was born in 1624, at Amptill, in Bedfordshire, where his ancestors had lived in great esteem. His father was a barrister of the Middle Temple, and his mother a daughter of Sir George Bruce, ancestor of the Earl of Elgin. At the University he distinguished himself as a scholar; but on the breaking out of the civil war in 1643, he left his college and joined the royal forces, in which he obtained the command of a troop of horse. Nicolls adhered faithfully to the royal cause, and shared its fortunes. Attaching himself in Paris to the Duke of York, he served with him in the French army under Turenne, and afterward on the other side under Don John of Austria and the Prince of Condé. At the Restoration Nicolls returned to England, and was made a groom of the bedchamber to the duke. His sincerity, courage, capacity, and prudence recommended him for the most important trust which his patron could now confer. Nicolls was accordingly commissioned by the 2 April.

Colonel
Richard
Nicolls.

* Patents, I., 169; Duer's Life of Stirling, 37, 38; D'Estrades, iii., 334; Chalmers's Ann., c. 47, 480; Col. Doc., II., 295-298, 490, 507; III., 47, 48, 215, 225, 240, 260, 606, 607, 796; v., 17, 186; vi., 748; vii., 431, 504, 596, 597; viii., 107, 436, 449; Maine H. S. Coll., v., 2-6; Deering and Spicer's Grants and Concessions, 3-8; Smith's N. Y., I., 15; Thompson, II., 100; Wood, 6, note; Palfrey, II., 589; ante, vol. I., 725, 736. The original patent, beautifully engrossed, is in the State Library at Albany; a copy is in Appendix, Note A.

CHAP. I.

1664.

Appointed
Deputy
Governor.

Duke of York to be his deputy governor during pleasure, within his American proprietorship, to execute all the powers granted by the patent, and obey such orders as he might receive. A set of instructions from the duke was also given to Nicolls for his general guidance.*

Royal
Commis-
sioners to
New En-
gland.

25 April.

The king now determined to send commissioners to New England, as he had announced his purpose of doing a year before. They appear to have been selected by the Duke of York. The first was Colonel Richard Nicolls, whom he had just commissioned to be the deputy governor of his yet unpossessed transatlantic territory. The second was Sir Robert Carr, a needy Royalist knight, of loose principles, avaricious, and supercilious, and a "rank papist," who had already been talked of as governor general of New England. The third was Colonel George Cartwright, of Nottinghamshire, "naturally morose, saturnine, and suspicious," but clear-sighted and energetic. These three were officers in the royal army. The fourth commissioner was Samuel Maverick, an ardent Episcopalian, who had lived from his youth in Massachusetts, of which he was the avowed and well-informed enemy, and who, with Scott and Baxter, had just before advised the Council of Plantations respecting the best means of subduing New Netherland. To these four persons a royal commission was issued, directing them, or any three or two of them (of whom Nicolls was always to be one), to visit the several New England colonies, and "examine and determine all complaints and appeals in all cases and matters, as well military as criminal and civil, and proceed in all things for the providing for and settling the peace and security of the said country, according to their good and sound discretion, and to such instructions as they, or the survivors of them, have, or shall from time to time receive."†

* Col. Doc., ii., 234, 400, 567; iii., 163, 154; Thompson's *Lone Island*, ii., 325; Clarke's *James II.*, i., 54; Chalmers's *Pol. Ann.*, i., 573; Lyson's *Magna Britt.*, i., 33; Lister's *Clarendon*, i., 368; ii., 259; N. Y. H. S. Proc., 1844, App., 116-118; Notes and Queries (2d Series), iii., 214-216; Nichols's *Topographer and Genealogist*, iii., 539-544; Leaming and Spicer, 665-667; Patents, i., 136; *ante*, vol. i., 727, 736. A copy of Nicolls's Seal is in *Hist. Mag.*, ix., 177. A copy of Nicolls's Commission is in Appendix, Note B. His Instructions from the Duke, which were exhibited at Hempstead in March, 1665, are not on record at Albany, nor did I find them in the State Paper Office at London. Perhaps they were lent to Evelyn in 1671, and he may not have returned them: Pepys, iv., 221, 222; Evelyn, iii., 241, 240; *post*, p. 422, note.

† *Hutch. Mass.*, i., 225, 230, 250, 535; Evelyn, ii., 65; Chalmers, i., 386, 432; Winthrop,

It was the duty of the secretary of state to prepare instructions for the commissioners. But the lord chancellor had given minute attention to the affairs of the New England colonies, and, in the plan which he drew up for their visitation, had considered them as "already well-nigh ripened to a commonwealth." To Clarendon, therefore, appears to have been assigned the task of drafting the commissioners' instructions, of which there were different sets relating to the several colonies. In those for their private direction they were thus instructed: "You may inform all men that a great end of your design is the possessing Long Island, and reducing that people to an entire submission and obedience to us and our government, now vested by our grant and commission in our brother the Duke of York, and by raising forts or any other way you shall judge most convenient or necessary, so to secure that whole trade to our subjects, that the Dutch may no longer engross and exercise that trade which they have wrongfully possessed themselves of; that whole territory being in our possession before they, as private persons, and without any authority from their superiors, and against the law of nations and the good intelligence and alliance between us and their superiors, invaded, and have since wrongfully obtained the same, to the prejudice of our crown and dignity, and therefore ought in justice to be resumed by us, except they will entirely submit to our government, and live there as our good subjects under it; and in that case you shall let them know, both by private significations and treaties, or by any public declaration set out by you in our name, that we will take them into our protection, and that they shall continue to enjoy all their possessions (forts only excepted), and the same freedom in trade with our other good subjects in those parts." It would be difficult to find in any official document of any government a more impudent falsehood than the one in this clause, that the "whole territory" of New Netherland had been in the "possession" of the En-

CHAP. I.

1664.

23 April.
Instructions of the
commissioners.

L. 27; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxii., 284; Maine H. S. Coll. i., 301; Barry's Mass., i., 300; Col. Doc., iii., 61, 92, 94; Patents, i., 148-150; Hazard, ii., 638; Trumbull's Conn., i., 522; ante, v. 4, l. 126. Palfrey, ii., 580, note, errs in confounding Sir Robert Carr, Knight, the commissioner who died at Bristol, 2d June, 1667; Col. Doc., iii., 161; Morton's Memorial, 315, note; Smith, i., 33, note, with Sir Robert Carr, Baronet, of Sleeford, in Lincolnshire, who married a sister of Secretary Bennet, and certainly was alive in 1668: compare Collins's *Diary*, iv., 312, 330; Evelyn, i., 40; Pepys, iii., 206, 427.

'CHAP. I.

1664.

glish crown before the Dutch "wrongfully obtained the same." Several other particular directions were given to the commissioners, who, when in New England, were to avoid giving any offense in matters of religion, and even to frequent the Puritan churches, while their own Episcopalian chaplain was not to wear his surplice, "which, having never been seen in those countries, may conveniently be forborne at this time." The main object of the king, however, was to obtain such alterations in the charters of the New England colonies as would give him the appointment of their governor and of the commander of their militia. "We should look upon it as a good omen," said Charles, "if they might be so wrought upon at the General Assembly as that Colonel Nicolls might be chosen by themselves for their present governour, and Colonel Cartwright for their major general."

23 April.
Royal letters.

Royal letters were also addressed to the several colonies. The reasons for the visit of the commissioners were explained in soothing language; the motives for subduing the Dutch, and "the benefit and advantage which, with God's blessing, must accrue" to New England from the reduction of New Netherland, were seductively exhibited, and a full compliance with all the king's desires was required. "For the glory of the matter," these letters were dated on Saint George's day.*

The English expedition against New Netherland.

The Duke of York, who, as lord high admiral, directed the fleet, now borrowed several men-of-war from the king. They were the *Guinea*, of thirty-six guns, Captain Hugh Hyde; the *Elias*, of thirty, Captain William Hill; the *Martin*, of sixteen, Captain Edward Grove; and a chartered transport, the *William and Nicholas*, of ten, Captain Morley. About four hundred and fifty of the king's veteran soldiers, forming three full companies, which were commanded by Colonels Nicolls, Carr, and Cartwright, were embarked on the squadron. Nicolls was commander-in-chief of the expedition. Among the commissioned officers serving under him were Captains Matthias Nicolls, Daniel Brodhead, Robert Needham, Harry Norwood, and Ensign Sylvester Salisbury, of the British army, some of whom,

* Col. Dec., ii., 237; iii., 51-63; Oldmixon, i., 238; Trumbull, i., 523; Holmes, i., 333, note; Hazard, ii., 364; Falfrey, i., 193, note; ii., 530, 543, 579, 582-586; iii., 233.

intending to settle themselves permanently in the Dutch province after its reduction, were accompanied by their families. The forces were "exceedingly well fitted with all necessities for warre, with such engineers and other expedients for the forcing the strongest fortifications." Nicolls and Cartwright went on board the *Guinea*, while Carr and Maverick embarked in the *Martin*. The expedition set sail ¹⁵/₂₅ May. from Portsmouth, with orders to assemble in Gardiner's Bay, at the eastern end of Long Island.*

Intelligence of these preparations soon reached the Hague. Stuyvesant had already warned the West India Company of the intended grant of Charles to the Duke of York, and that not only Long Island, but the whole of New Netherland, would be lost, unless speedily re-enforced from Holland. But the company, now on the brink of bankruptcy, wrote back, with marvelous infatuation, that the king, "being inclined to reduce all his kingdoms under one form of government in Church and State, hath taken care that commissioners are ready in England to repair to New England to install bishops there, the same as in Old England; therefore we believe that the English of the North, who mostly left England for the aforesaid causes, will not give us henceforth so much trouble, and will prefer to live under us with freedom of conscience, rather than risk that in order to be rid of our authority, and then again to fall under a government from which they formerly fled." Never was the Puritan sentiment in New England more thoroughly misapprehended than by the Dutch West India Company. Scarcely had this absurd letter been dispatched before the real purpose of Nicolls's expedition was better understood. In great concern, De Witt sought from Downing some explanation of the report of the English "sending to take New Netherland." The British envoy ²⁹/₂₅ May. replied, "I know of no such country but only in the maps;" and he boldly insisted that "the English had the first pattern of first possession of those parts." The Dutch govern-

CHAP. I.

1664.

29 February.

21 April.

Infatuation in Holland.

25 May.

* Col. Dec., II., 243, 372, 410, 423, 445, 501; III., 65, 66; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxvi., 527; Smith, I., 16; Clarke's James II., I., 400; Pepys, iv., 353; N. Y. General Entries, i., 2, 3, 22, 23; Valentine's Manual, 1860, 592; Wood, 144; *ante*, vol. I., 736, 744, *note*. Of the English officers who accompanied Nicolls, the family of Captain Matthias Nicolls settled on Long Island, and those of Captain Daniel Brodhead and Ensign Sylvester Salisbury in Ulster County, in the province of New York. Numerous descendants now bear these ancestral names. See also N. Y. H. S. Coll. (1869), 57.

CHAP. I. ment was now sufficiently warned of the danger which
 1664. menaced New Netherland. But a purblind confidence in the honor of Charles, and an unjust estimate of the importance of its American province to the fatherland, clouded the judgment of De Witt. Prompt orders to De Ruyter, who was now on his way to the Mediterranean, might have hurried his squadron to Manhattan in time to assist Stuyvesant, and give the Duke of York's expedition a memorable repulse. But, unhappily, the Dutch province was under the immediate government of a commercial monopoly which had but little popular sympathy. "What!" cried the commonalty at the Hague, "must we have a war for the East and West India Companies! We will rather pull them by the ears."* And so the fatherland abandoned New Netherland to her fate.

17 Juna.
 Swedish
 com-
 plaints.

15 August

29 Sept.
 9 October.

23 June.
 8 July.

Nicolls's squadron worked slowly to the westward. It was nearly ten weeks before the first of his ships reached New England. In the mean time, Appleboom, the Swedish minister at the Hague, awakened from its sleep of eight years the complaint of his king against the proceedings of Stuyvesant on the Delaware in 1655. In a well-written memorial to the States General, he demanded that the West India Company should be ordered to restore the "wrested lands" to the Swedish Company and pay all damages. This should be speedily done, because it was reported that the Dutch Company "were themselves now questioned by others in those parts." Two months afterward, the Amsterdam chamber submitted a full justification of their proceedings against the Swedes; and here the question, which had been revived "for form's sake," was ended.†

Appleboom's suggestion was almost a prophetic sneer. The Dutch were, indeed, effectually "questioned by others" in New Netherland. In alarm at the now certain destination of Nicolls's squadron, the West India Company demanded assistance from the city of Amsterdam, and asked the States General for "three hundred soldiers as a re-enforcement for New Netherland, and a ship of war to op-

* Lister's Clarendon, iii., 367, 310, 318, 326, 322; Kennett's England, iii., 251, 253; D'Estrades, ii., 425; Col. Dec., ii., 230, 237, 367, 400, 408, 421, 431, 432, 492, 493, 505, 507; Letter of W. I. Co. to S. G., 20 June, 1664, MS., N. Y. Historical Society; Mass. Rec., iv. (ii.), 101-110; Falfrey, ii., 576, 586, 587.

† C. I. Dec., i., 615; ii., 240-242, 243, 247, 253-260; Aitzema, v., 217-249; Holl. Merc., 1664, 135-167; Lister's Clarendon, iii., 350; *ante*, vol. i., 622.

pose the English designs there." But Van Gogh, the ambassador at London, reported that the king constantly protested that "he would not in any way violate his alliance with the Dutch;" and the States General, wishing to give no umbrage to England, refused the company's request for assistance. Early in the autumn, Van Gogh wrote that it was rumored that the English had taken Long Island, and intended to reduce New Amsterdam and the rest of New Netherland. Soon afterward the West India Company notified the States General that Stuyvesant's dispatches announced that the Duke of York had already reduced Long Island, and was about to attack New Amsterdam, the capital, "and thereby to erase the name of New Netherland from the map, and cause a loss of millions to the company." The same week intelligence reached London that the Dutch had been "beat out" of Guinea and New Netherland, "without public knowledge or reason," according to the honest notion of Pepys, the clerk of the Admiralty. The king did "joy mightily at it." The mask need no longer be worn. "But," said Charles to his vice-chamberlain Carteret, laughing, "how shall I do to answer this to the ambassador when he comes?"*

CHAP. I.

1664.

30 June.

10 July.

The States

General r.

fuse to de-

fend New

Nether-

land.

31 Sept.

26 Sept.

6 October.

29 Sept.

9 October.

Meanwhile Nicolls and Cartwright, with part of the squadron, had reached Boston after a tedious voyage, and had dispatched a letter to Winthrop requiring the assistance of Connecticut. This was very readily given. At the suggestion of the commissioners, the Massachusetts authorities, with evident unwillingness, ordered two hundred volunteers to be called out to aid in reducing New Netherland. The West India Company, as we have seen, had cherished the absurd belief that the Puritan colonists would not assist the royal forces in overthrowing the government of New Netherland, in which "freedom of conscience" was so fully recognized. But the English jealousy of the Dutch, which New England fostered, together with a curious notion of loyalty to the king, prevailed over Puritan dread of episcopacy. Nevertheless, the backwardness of Massachusetts

23 July.

Nicolls at

Boston.

3 August.

* Col. Doc., ii., 243-246, 253, 255, 256; Lingard, xii., 168; Davies, iii., 25; Rapin, ii., 637, 638; Parliamentary History, iv., 298-299; D'Estrades, ii., 459, 460, 494; Lett. of De Witt, ii., 6, 542; Pepys, ii., 171. It is another instance of the ignorance which English scholars constantly display in regard to American history, that the editor of Bohn's recent edition of Pepys repeats the erroneous statement of Hume, vi., 583, and others, that the expedition against New Netherland was commanded by Sir Robert Holmes.

CHAP. I.

1664.

29 July.

18 August.
The squad-
ron at Ny-
ack.

Connecti-
cut, Plym-
outh, and
Massachu-
setts dele-
gates.

18 August.
New Am-
sterdam
blockaded.

20 August.

Proclama-
tion of the
Royal Com-
missioners.

gave Nicolls and Cartwright an opportunity to complain to Secretary Bennet. As soon as the rest of the English ships reached Boston, Nicolls wrote again to Winthrop at Hartford, and also to Captain Thomas Willett at Plymouth, desiring them to meet the commissioners at the west end of Long Island, whither the expedition soon afterward sailed. The squadron, piloted by New England mariners, anchored at Nyack or New Utrecht Bay, just inside of Coney Island. Here the royal commissioners were joined by Winthrop and his son Fitz John, with Willys and several other Connecticut magistrates. Willett also appeared on behalf of the new Plymouth colony, and "greatly recommended himself to the commissioners by his activity and intelligence." Scott was likewise at hand, with men from New Haven, "pressed by authority," to go with him to Long Island. A number of militia, summoned from Southold and the other towns at the eastern end of the island, soon appeared in arms under the command of Captain John Younge. Thomas Clarke and John Pynchon also came from Boston with a report of its military arrangements. But, as there was already an overpowering force collected, the services of the Massachusetts troops were found to be unnecessary.*

All the approaches to New Amsterdam by land and water were immediately blockaded, and communication between the city and Long Island, Bergen, and Achter Cul was cut off. The block-house on Staten Island, opposite the squadron, was occupied. Several coasting vessels, on their way to the South River, were captured. The Long Island farmers were forbidden to furnish any supplies to the capital, on pain of destruction of their property. At the same time a proclamation was issued by the commissioners on board the *Guinea*, copies of which were "scattered broadcast" among the Dutch towns, and soon found their way to the burghers of the metropolis. "Forasmuch," were its words, "as his majesty hath sent us, by commission under his great seal, among other things to expel or to re-

* General Entries, i, 3-7; Col. Doc., ii, 225, 236, 372, 409, 410, 438, 444; iii, 65, 66, 84; Chalmers, Ann., i, 386, 387, 573; Mass. Rec., iv, (61), 117-128, 141, 149, 157-168; Mass. H. S. Coll., xviii, 92-94; xxxvi, 527, 528; Hatch, Mass., i, 230, 231; Barry, i, 290, 591; Paley, ii, 573, 586, 591; iii, 236, 238; Morton's Mem., 311, note; New Haven Rec., ii, 550; Trumbull, i, 267; Smith, i, 17, 18; Wood, 27; Thompson, i, 127; ante, vol. i, 737.

duce under his majesty's obedience all such foreigners as have without his majesty's leave or consent seated themselves amongst any of his dominions in America, to the prejudice of his majesty's subjects and the diminution of his royal dignity, WE, his Majesty's Commissioners, declare and promise that whosoever, of what nation soever, will, upon knowledge of this proclamation, acknowledge and testify themselves to submit to this his majesty's government, as his good subjects ought to do, shall be protected by his majesty's laws and justice, and peaceably enjoy whatsoever God's blessing and their own honest industry have furnished them with, and all other privileges with his majesty's English subjects. We have caused this to be published that we might prevent all inconveniences to others, if it were possible; however, to clear ourselves from the charge of all those miseries that may any way befall such as live here and will not acknowledge his majesty for their sovereign—whom God preserve." The inhabitants of the several towns on Long Island were also specially summoned to meet the commissioners at Gravesend on the following Thursday.*

CHAP. I.

1664.

In the mean time, Stuyvesant, on receiving the letter which the West India directors had written to him in April, was somewhat relieved from fear of an attack by the English, although he could not refrain from writing to the company that the design of the royal commissioners was rather against New Netherland than for the "imagined reform of New England." Willett, of Plymouth, who had originally warned him of the danger, now contradicted his previous statements, and the director incautiously went up to Fort Orange to repress some disorders among the Indians in its neighborhood. Upon learning the approach of the English expedition he hurried back to New Amsterdam, which he reached only the day before the Guinea anchored in Nyack Bay. According to the rule "in such critical circumstances," the burgomasters were called into council, and every thing possible was done for the fortification and defense of the city. But its condition was

25 July.

4 August.

27 July.

6 August.
Stuyvesant
at Fort
Orange.

Returns to
New Am-
sterdam.

15 August.

The city
magis-
trates
called into
council.

* Col. Doc., II., 372, 410, 411, 434, 438, 443, 444, 476; General Entries, I., 7, 8; Colonial Manuscripts, v. GILD, 299-303; Albany Rec., xxii., 507, 585; Smith, I., 387, 388; S. Smith's New Jersey, 26, 27; Oyster Bay Rec., A., 19; O'Call., II., 521, 522; Thompson, I., 124, 125; *ibid.*, I., 788; N. Y. II. S. Coll. (1859), 53, 63.

CHAP. I. hopeless from the first. No aid could be obtained from
 1664. Long Island. The regular soldiers in the garrison did

Defense-
less condi-
tion of the
metropolis.

The river
its master.

19 August.
Stuyvesant
sends to
Nicolls,
who re-
plies.

not exceed one hundred and fifty; and the burghers—of whom only two hundred and fifty were able to bear arms—thought more of protecting their own property than of defending the open town. The whole city force, placed man by man four rods apart, could not guard its breastwork. Fort Amsterdam itself was untenable against a regular beleaguering, having been originally built to resist an attack of the savages rather than an assault by European arms. Houses were clustered around its low earthen walls, which in some places were not over ten feet high, and were commanded, within pistol-shot on the north, by much higher ground on the “Heere-weg,” or Broadway. Its six hundred pounds of serviceable powder were not sufficient for more than a few hours’ firing. Long before its extremity, Stuyvesant had given his military opinion, which modern judgment has only confirmed, that “whoever by water is master of the river will be in a short time master by land of the feeble fortress.” The contingency he dreaded had now happened, and the English squadron was in full command of the harbor. Nevertheless, the director resolved to hold out to the last. At the request of the burgomasters, and to ascertain the condition of affairs on Long Island, he sent four commissioners, representing the council and the city, down to the English commanders, with a letter inquiring the object of their coming, and why they remained at Nyack without giving notice to him. Nicolls answered them that he had come to reduce the country to the obedience of the King of England, whose commission he exhibited; that he would not argue about his majesty’s right, which he would leave to be vindicated by the king himself; and that, the next day, he would send a letter to New Amsterdam “over the ferry.”*

Colonel Cartwright, Captain Needham, Captain Grove, and Mr. Thomas Delavall accordingly came up to the city
 20 August. on Saturday morning with a letter from Nicolls to Stuy-

* Alb. Rec., xviii., 270-297, 311, 312; Colonial MSS., x. (dii.), 254, 299; xv., 140; Mass. Rec., iv. (dii.), 191-196; Palfrey, ii., 576; New Amsterdam Rec., v., 562-564, 567-570; Val. Man., 1569, 592; 1861, 603-605; Col. Doc., ii., 235, 248, 367, 368, 371, 372, 376, 377, 408-411, 421, 431-434, 438, 440, 441, 443, 446, 469, 474, 475, 494, 499, 505, 508; Gen. Ent., i., 8, 9; Smith, i., 18; S. Smith, 37, 38; Hazard’s Reg. Penn., iv., 30, 31; Letter of Drislaus, 15 Sept., 1664; *ante*, vol. i., 737, 738, 741.

vesant, asserting the "unquestionable right" of the English king "to these parts of America," and requiring the surrender of the "town situate upon the island commonly known by the name of Manhatoes, with all the forts thereunto belonging," at the same time assuring him "and every respective inhabitant of the Dutch nation that his majesty, being tender of the effusion of Christian blood, doth by these presents confirm and secure to every man his estate, life, and liberty, who shall readily submit to his government, and all those who shall oppose his majesty's gracious intentions must expect all the miseries of a war which they bring upon themselves." A copy of the proclamation of the royal commissioners was also sent. Fond of parade, and determined to "keep up state" to the last, the Dutch director received the English delegates with a salute of artillery which expended a large proportion of his slender stock of powder. As Nicolls had omitted to sign his summons, it was returned to the delegates, and a delay was thus gained. Stuyvesant, on his part, showed them his commission as Director General of New Netherland, and the grant of the States General to the West India Company in 1621, which, he insisted, gave as much power and authority as the King of England had given or could give to any colony in America. The municipal authorities, with some of the burghers, now assembled at the City Hall, and agreed that the city should be so fortified as to prevent a surprise, that thus "good terms and conditions" might be obtained from the enemy. But, as protracted resistance was out of the question, a copy of the English communication was to be demanded from the director.

On the following Monday morning, Nicolls, having signed his summons, sent it back with a note of apology by Captains Hill, Needham, and Matthias Nicolls. Another salute was fired, and on the departure of the English deputies the burgomasters asked Stuyvesant for a copy of the summons, to be shown to the citizens. But the director, fearing that its easy terms might lead them to capitulate at once, refused. The burgomasters endeavored to explain the purport of the summons, but the citizens insisted upon seeing for themselves. Stuyvesant then went in person to their meeting, hoping to dissuade them from their purpose.

CHAP. I.

1664.

Nicolls demands the surrender of Manhat-tan.

Terms offered.

Stuyvesant procrastinates.

22 August.

1 Septem.

Nicolls's

second summons.

CHAP. I. "Such a course," he said, "would be disapproved of in the
 1664. fatherland: it would discourage the people, and he would
 be held answerable for the surrender." At last, finding it
 useless to resist the popular will, the director furnished the
 required copy, with a protest that he should not be held re-
 sponsible for "the calamitous consequences."*

Communi-
 cated to
 the people.

22 August.
 1 Septem.

Stuyve-
 sant's let-
 ter to the
 W. I. Com-
 pany.

With a sorrowful heart Stuyvesant now drew up a dis-
 patch to the West India Directors, informing them of his
 "perilous and very alarming" situation. "Long Island is
 gone and lost." The capital, threatened by Old and New
 England forces, could not hold out long. "The company
 is scolded and cursed by the inhabitants, in regard that not-
 withstanding the so often renewed and successive warn-
 ings and remonstrances from time to time, no attention has
 been paid, and none of the solicited succor obtained. Yes,
 it is loudly and openly proclaimed, to the contempt and
 shame of your faithful servants, that your honors by pre-
 meditation abandoned the inhabitants, if you did not in-
 tend to expose them for sale, and endeavored to devote
 them to slaughter." This dispatch was intended to be sent
 by the recently arrived ship Gideon, which was to pass that
 night "in silence through Hellgate." But, upon considera-
 tion, Stuyvesant refused to let the vessel sail, and Gelde,
 her master, could only protest against his detention.†

Willelt
 and
 Winthrop.

22 August.
 1 Septem.

Nicolls's
 promises to
 Winthrop.

By this time Nicolls had become better informed of the
 state of affairs in New Amsterdam through Willett, who
 was "more acquainted with the manners and customs of
 the Dutch than any Englishman in the country." Win-
 throp had also explained to him how easily the citizens
 might be induced to compel Stuyvesant to surrender, if
 they were assured that their intercourse with Holland
 would not be interrupted. Nicolls accordingly wrote to
 Winthrop, "As to those particulars you spoke to me, I do
 assure you that if the Manhadoes be delivered up to his
 majesty, I shall not hinder, but any people from the Neth-
 erlands may freely come and plant there, or thereabouts;
 and such vessels of their owne country may freely come

* General Entries, I, 9-11; Alb. Rec., xviii., 311-317; xxi., 314, 315; Col. MSS., x, (iii), 309, 311; xv., 143, 144; Col. Doc., ii., 441, 443, 469, 498; Hazard's Reg. Penn., iv., 31, 41; Smith, i., 18-21; S. Smith, 38, 39; Thompson, i., 128; Bancroft, ii., 314; O'Call., ii., 522, 523; *ante*, vol. i., 738, 739.

† Alb. Rec., xviii., 302-304; xvii., 318-321; Col. MSS., x, (iii), 313; xv., 141; Thompson, i., 128, 129; General Entries, i., 34, 141; Col. Doc., ii., 222, 430, 469, 744.

CHAP. I.

1664.

thither, and any of them may as freely returne home in vessels of their owne country; and this and much more is contained in the privilege of his majesty's English subjects; and thus much you may, by what means you please, assure the governor." In thus promising the people of New Netherland a free intercourse with Holland, in violation of the English Navigation Acts, Nicolls exceeded his instructions from the king, which authorized him to assure the Dutch colonists only "the same freedom in trade with our other good subjects in those parts;" and he even assumed more power than his own sovereign possessed, who "could not dispense with the laws by permitting a commerce which they had prohibited."*

Having, nevertheless, gained his point, Winthrop addressed a friendly letter to Stuyvesant and his council, urging them to "speedily accept his majesty's gracious tender," and adding that "otherwise you may be assured that both the Massachusetts colony and Connecticut, and all the rest, are obliged and ready to attend his majestie's service; and if you should, by wilfull protraction, occasion a generall rising of the English colonies, I should be sorry to see the ill consequences which you will bring upon your people thereby, of which I hope and persuade, in reall compassion, that you will not run so great an hazard to occasion a needless warre, with all the evils and miseries that may accompany the same, when nothing but peace, and liberties, and protection is tendered. I have, I hope, obtained of their honors this farther addition to their former free tenders for the good of yourselves, your friends, and allies, that any of your friends in Holland that will come over hither shall have free liberty to inhabite and plant in these parts, under his majestie's subjection, and to transport themselves in their owne country ships, which (if you consider well) gives you such a settlement in your present condition, that you will find little alteration but your submission to and acknowledgment of his majestie's empire (for the most apparent future good of all your people), who hath employed such persons of honor and worth that your people may be happy under their government." To this

22 August.
1 Septem.

Winthrop's
letter to
Stuyvesant.

* Gen. Ent., i., 12; Morton's Memorial, 311, note; Col. Doc., iii., 57, 165; Chalmers, i., 14, 524; O. C. L., ii., 523; ante, p. 19; vol. i., 739.

CHAP. I. letter Nicolls, Carr, and Cartwright added their autograph approval and assent "that it be sent to the governor of the
1664. Manhadocs."*

23 August.
2 Septem.
Winthrop
at New
Amster-
dam.

Winthrop, with his son Fitz John, and Willys of Connecticut, accompanied by Willett of Plymouth, and Clarke and Pyncheon of Massachusetts, came up the next day with this letter from Gravesend "in a row-boat with a white flag," to the city wharf, whence they were "immediately conducted to the nearest tavern." Another salute was fired as they landed, and Stuyvesant went with his council and the two burgomasters to greet them. The English delegates declared that they had come to offer "all the inhabitants, in the king's name, fair conditions, and, in case these were not accepted, to excuse themselves for any mischief that might follow—it being their business, as they had been ordered by England's majesty, and were therefore obliged to assist General Nicolls." Many "speeches and answers" passed at the long conference. On taking leave, Winthrop handed his own sealed letter to Stuyvesant, who, when he returned to the fort, opened and read it before the council and the burgomasters. Its effect was immediate. In a short time the burgomasters came back to the council chamber, and demanded a copy of Winthrop's letter to be communicated to the city authorities. This Stuyvesant declined to allow, thinking it "rather disadvantageous than favorable to communicate such letters to the inhabitants." The burgomasters insisted that the director "ought to communicate to the commonalty all that had any relation to the public welfare." Stuyvesant explained the disastrous consequences of so doing; but the burgomasters persisted, and as they went away, "greatly disgusted and dissatisfied,"

Stuyvesant
tears up
Winthrop's
letter.

the director, against their protest, tore the letter in pieces, "in order thereby to prevent its communication." Shortly afterward, most of the burghers assembled at the City Hall; the work on the palisades suddenly stopped; and three of the principal citizens, "not belonging to the government," came to the council chamber and peremptorily demanded a copy of the letter. The fragments were shown to them, but no reasoning would satisfy; and Stuyvesant

* This letter was published for the first time in 1863, from Winthrop's original draft, in Mass. II. S. Coll., xxxvi., 527-529; N. Y. II. S. Coll. (1869), 53.

was obliged to hasten to the City Hall, "to encourage and appease the burghers, and bring them back to work." In vain did he try to pacify them; complaints against the company's shameful neglect of the people's representations were uttered on all sides; and a prolonged defense of the city, without hope of relief, was declared to be impossible, "seeing that to resist so many was nothing else than to gape before an oven." In vain did the director again refuse a copy of the letter, because "it did not concern the commonalty, but the government," and, moreover, it had been torn up. "The letter! the letter!" was the only reply. Fearing a mutiny, Stuyvesant returned to the council chamber; and Bayard, the clerk, having made a copy of Winthrop's mutilated writing, gave it to the timorous burgomasters.*

CHAP. I.

1664.

A copy given to the citizens.

Meanwhile Stuyvesant had been preparing a reply to the summons of Nicolls. It was an overwhelming argument, tracing the history of New Netherland, denying the English pretension, and maintaining the Dutch title by first discovery, uninterrupted possession, purchase of land from the native owners, and the recognition of the sovereignty of the States General by the articles of peace with England. For these reasons, the unsoundness of the English claim was "as manifest and palpable as the brightness of the sun at noonday." At the same time, the director proposed to renew the agreement with Scott in the previous March, that the question of boundaries on Long Island should be amicably determined by the king and the States General, "in order to prevent bloodshed here and further trouble in Europe," which must follow any hostile aggressions.

23 August.
2 Septem.
Stuyvesant's justification of the Dutch title.

This letter was conveyed by four of Stuyvesant's ablest advisers, two from the council and two from the city, who were instructed to "argue the matter" with the English commander. But Nicolls, declining discussion, told them that the question of right did not concern him; it was to be considered by the king and the States General. He must and should take the place; and if the reasonable terms he

23 August.
2 Septem.
Nicolls declines discussion.

* Col. Doc., II., 363, 369, 444, 445, 469, 476; HL, 165; Alb. Rec., xxii., 316; Col. MSS., x., 311, 313; Smith, I., 29; Trumbull, I., 268; Pancroft, II., 314; O'Call., II., 523, 524; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxvi., 528, 529; ante, vol. I., 739. According to Smith, Trumbull, and others, Stuyvesant tore Winthrop's letter "in a fit of anger;" according to his own account, Alb. Rec., xxii., 316, and Col. Doc., II., 445, "to prevent its communication" to the people.

CHAP. I. had offered were not accepted, he would attack the city,
 1664. for which purpose, at the end of forty-eight hours, he would
 bring his forces up nearer. "On Thursday, the fourth," he
 added, "I will speak with you at the Manhattans." The
 Dutch deputies replied, "Friends will be welcome if they
 come in a friendly manner." "I shall come with my ships
 and soldiers," said Nicolls, "and he will be a bold messenger,
 indeed, who shall then dare to come on board and solicit
 terms." To their demand, "What, then, is to be done?"
 He answered, "Hoist the white flag of peace at the fort,
 and then I may take something into consideration." With
 this imperious message the Dutch delegates returned sadly
 to New Amsterdam.*

Nicolls's
 imperious
 reply.

24 August.
 3 Septem.
 An attack
 ordered.

Seeing that Stuyvesant was disposed to hold out, Nicolls
 directed Hyde, of the Guinea, "to prosecute, with the ad-
 vice of the captains under his command, his majesties'
 claim and interest by all ways and means as they shall
 think most expedient for the speedy reducing of the Dutch
 under his majesties' obedience." The transport ship Wil-
 liam and Nicholas was also "pressed" for active service,
 and an agreement was signed with Morley, her captain, to
 indemnify her owners in case she should be damaged.†

25 August.
 4 Septem.
 Nicolls at
 Gravesend.

At the appointed day, a great number of the inhabitants
 of Long Island assembled to meet the royal commissioners
 at Gravesend. Winthrop and the other Connecticut mag-
 istrates were present. Nicolls, in their presence, published
 the king's patent to the Duke of York, with his own com-
 mission, and demanded the submission of Long Island to
 his authority. On the part of the inhabitants living east
 of the Dutch towns there was no doubt respecting alle-
 giance. They were already British subjects, and under the
 jurisdiction of Connecticut. The only question was about
 coming under the Duke of York's government. Winthrop,
 on behalf of Connecticut, declared that as the king's pleas-
 ure was now fully signified by his letters patent, the juris-
 diction which that colony had claimed and exercised over
 Long Island "ceased and became null." Nicolls, on the
 part of the duke, replied that he would not displace any of

* Col. Doc., ii., 406, 411-414; Gen. Ent., i., 15-20; Alb. Rec., xviii., 319, 320; xxii., 317;
 Col MSS., x. (B), 313; xv., 144; Hazard's Reg. Penn., iv., 41, 42; Val. Man., 1860, 592;
 Smith, i., 29-30; Bancroft, ii., 314; O'Call., ii., 536; *ante*, vol. i., 723, 740.

† Gen. Ent., i., 21, 22, 27, 28; Smith, i., 27; S. Smith, 40; Hazard, Reg. Penn., iv., 42, 43.

the civil officers appointed by Connecticut, but would confirm them to act under him "until a convenient season served to convene deputies from all the towns on the island, when and where laws were to be enacted and civil officers established." This assurance seemed to explain the vague promise in the proclamation of the commissioners, that all persons submitting to the royal government should enjoy "all other privileges with his majesty's English subjects." It was, at all events, considered satisfactory. Long Island, chiefly inhabited by Englishmen already subject to the crown, submitted at once to the authority of the Duke of York; and the volunteer forces from its eastern towns, joined by those of New England, marched from Amersfoort and Midwout toward Brooklyn, to assist in reducing the Dutch capital.*

CHAP. I.

1664.

Submission
of Long Isl.
and to the
Duke of
York.

Observing the approach of the English forces, Stuyvesant wrote once more to Nicolls, that although by his orders he was "obliged to defend our place," yet, to prevent the shedding of innocent blood, he proposed that commissioners should be appointed on both sides to treat about "a good accommodation," and that in the mean time all hostilities should cease. The English commander replied from Gravesend that he would willingly appoint commissioners "to treat upon articles of surrender." At the desire of Stuyvesant's delegates, orders were given to Commodore Hyde not to fire first on the city. But Nicolls refused their request that the troops should not be brought nearer. "To-day I shall arrive at the ferry," he added: "to-morrow we can agree with one another."†

25 August.
4 Septem.
Stuyve-
sant pro-
poses an
accommo-
dation.

25 August.
4 Septem.

The regular soldiers, consisting of three full companies, eager for booty, were then landed at Gravesend, whence they marched up to the ferry at Brooklyn, where the auxiliaries from Long Island and New England were already stationed. Two of the ships moved up near Nooten, or Governor's Island. The other two frigates came on with full sail, and guns ready to open broadsides, and, passing in front of Fort Amsterdam, anchored in the East River. Watching them from the parapet as they sailed along, Stuyvesant

The En-
glish forces
at Brook-
lyn.

New Am-
sterdam be-
leaguered.

* Deeds, ii., 43, 44; Wood, 27, 28, 87, 173, 177; Thompson, i., 126, 127; ii., 323, 328; Col. Rec., ii., 407, 408, 414, 445, 501; Col. Rec. Conn., i., 424, 427, 429; *ante*, vol. i., 733, 734.

* Gen. Ent., i., 13, 14, 15; Alb. Rec., xviii., 321; Col. MSS., xv., 144; Col. Doc., ii., 414; Hazard, Reg. Penn., iv., 31; Smith, i., 27; S. Smith, 41, 42; *ante*, vol. i., 740.

CHAP. I. was about to order his gunner to fire, when the two Domines
 1664. Megapolensis led him away between them, imploring him not
 to begin hostilities. Leaving fifty men in the fort, under
 the command of Fiscal de Sille, the director, at the head of
 one hundred of the garrison, marched into the city, in order
 to prevent the English from landing "here and there."*

Panic in
 the me-
 tropolis.

By this time the Dutch regular soldiers themselves had
 become more disposed to plunder than to defend. They
 openly talked of "where booty is to be got, and where the
 young women live who wear chains of gold." Warnings
 had come from Long Island that the New England auxil-
 iaries of Nicolls declared "that their business was not only
 with New Netherland, but with the booty and plunder, and
 for these they were called out and enrolled." The "curs-
 ing and talking" of these Eastern adventurers forced the
 citizens of New Amsterdam to look upon them as their
 "deadly enemies, who expected nothing else than pillage,
 plunder, and bloodshed." The whole population on Man-
 hattan Island was about fifteen hundred, of whom only
 two hundred and fifty were able to bear arms. Opposed
 to these were more than a thousand effective soldiers and
 sailors in the English squadron, besides the re-enforcements
 from New England and Long Island. Moreover, it was
 understood that six hundred Northern savages and one
 hundred and fifty French rovers, with English commissions,
 had offered their services against the Dutch. Seeing them-
 selves thus "encircled round about," with no means of de-
 liverance, and considering "the notorious and palpable im-
 possibility of being able to defend and hold the place," the
 city authorities, clergy, and officers of the burgher guard,
 at the suggestion of the elder Domine Megapolensis, adopt-
 ed a remonstrance to the director and his council, implor-
 ing them to accept the conditions offered by the English
 commander. His threats, it stated, "would not have been
 at all regarded, could your honors, or we, your petitioners,
 expect the smallest aid or succour. But God help us!
 whether we turn for assistance to the north or to the
 south, to the east or to the west, it is all in vain." Ninety-
 three of the principal citizens, including all the municipal

26 August.
 5 Septem-
 Remon-
 strance to
 Stuyve-
 sant.

* Col. Dec., ii., 414, 422, 444, 445, 501, 502, 5 3, 508, 509; Val. Man., 1:60, 592; Drijus to
 Classis of Amsterdam, 15 Sept., 1664; ante, vol. i., 740.



officers, and Stuyvesant's eldest son, signed the paper. The threatening answer of Nicolls to the Dutch commissioners had meanwhile been spread among the people, and many of them, with their wives and children crying and praying, besought the director to parley. To all their supplications he sturdily replied, "I had much rather be carried out dead!" But now he was obliged to yield to inevitable necessity, and prevent the mischiefs about to overtake, "evidently and assuredly, the honest inhabitants."*

CHAP. I.

1664.

Stuyvesant
yields.

The lesson in Saint Luke's Gospel taught Stuyvesant how vain it was, with ten thousand men, to resist him that came with twenty thousand. Yet there was one balm for the director's wounded spirit. Nicolls had voluntarily proposed "to redeliver the fort and city of Amsterdam, in New Netherland, in case the difference of the limits of this province be agreed upon betwixt His Majesty of England and the High and Mighty States General." A full power to agree upon articles with the English commander or his deputies was accordingly given by the Dutch director and his council to Counselor John De Decker, Commissary Nicholas Varlett, and Doctor Samuel Megapolensis, representing the provincial government, and Burgomaster Cornelis Steenwyck, old burgomaster Oloff Stevensen van Cortlandt, and old schepen James Cousseau, representing the city. Nicolls was now encamped at the Brooklyn ferry, "before the Manhatans," with the royal "beleaguering" forces. On his part, he promptly named his two colleagues, Sir Robert Carr and Colonel George Cartwright, with John Winthrop and Samuel Willys of Connecticut, and Thomas Clarke and John Pyncheon of Massachusetts, as his commissioners. "The reason why those of Boston and Connecticut were joined in the treaty," Nicolls afterward explained to Arlington, "was because those two colonies should hold themselves the more engaged with us if the Dutch had been over-confident of their strength."†

26 August.
5 September.Dutch
commiss-
sioners ap-
pointed.English
commiss-
sioners
named.

The next morning, which was Saturday, the plenipoten-

27 August.
6 September.

* Alb. Rec., xviii., 320, 321; Col. MSS., xv., 144; Col. Doc., ii., 243-250, 369, 423, 444, 446, 476, 509; Drisius's Letter; Val. Man., 1860, 592, 593; *ante*, vol. I., 741.

† Col. Doc., ii., 414, 440; iii., 103; Gen. Ent., i., 30-33; Alb. Rec., xviii., 322, 323; Col. MSS., xv., 144, 145; Hazard's Ann. Penn., iv., 44; O'Call., ii., 531; Saint Luke's Gospel, xiv., 31; *ante*, vol. I., 741, 742. Smith, i., 27, inaccurately says that Stuyvesant agreed to surrender "on condition the English and Dutch limits in America were settled by the crown and the States General."

CHAP. I. tiaries on both sides met by agreement at Stuyvesant's
 1664. "Bouwery," or farm. Their only dispute was about the

Articles of
 capitula-
 tion agreed
 upon.

Dutch garrison, whom, as the English refused to do it, the city deputies agreed to convey back to Holland. The proclamation of the royal commissioners and the reiterated promises of Nicolls formed the basis of the twenty-four articles of capitulation. These declared all the inhabitants of New Netherland to be "free denizens," and secured to them their property. Any persons might come from Holland "and plant in this country," while Dutch vessels might "freely come hither, and any of the Dutch may freely return home, or send any sort of merchandise home, in vessels of their own country." For the next six months, intercourse with Holland was to continue as before the coming of the English. The Dutch inhabitants were to "enjoy the liberty of their consciences in divine worship and Church discipline," as well as "their own customs concerning their inheritances." All public buildings were to continue in their existing uses, and all public records to be respected. All inferior civil officers were to remain as they were until the customary time for new elections; and the town of Manhattan might choose deputies with "free voices in all public affairs." Owners of houses in Fort Orange were to enjoy their property "as all people do where there is no fort." The articles of capitulation were to be consented to by Nicolls, and delivered to Stuyvesant, together with copies of the king's patent and the Duke of York's commission, by eight o'clock the next Monday morning, "at the old mill."* Within two hours afterward, the fort and town "called New Amsterdam, upon the isle of Manhattoes," were to be surrendered, and the military officers and soldiers to "march out with their arms, drums beating and colors flying, and lighted matches."†

28 August.
 7 S. ptm.

These very advantageous and conciliatory terms were explained to the burgher authorities at the City Hall on

* This "old mill," which was the nearest point on Manhattan to "the ferry" at Brooklyn, was on the shore of the East River, near what is now the foot of Roosevelt Street, but then at the outlet of a brook running out of the "Kolck," afterward vulgarly called "the Collect:" see Valentine's Manual, 1859, 551, and 1863, 621, and the maps appended; *ante*, vol. i, p. 167, note. We owe the recovery of these maps to the research and care of George H. Moore, the present librarian of the New York Historical Society.

† Gen. Ent., i, 23-26, 33; Col. Doc., ii, 250-253, 414; Smith, i, 27-32; S. Smith, 43-46; Hazard's Reg. Penn., iv, 43; Holl. Merc., 1664, 157, 154; Alb. Rec., xviii, 325; Col. MSS., xv, 145; Chalmers's Ann., i, 574; O'Call., i, 532-535; *ante*, vol. i, 742, 762.

Sunday afternoon, "after the second sermon." It was the last religious service that was expected to be celebrated under the Dutch flag in Kieft's old church in Fort Amsterdam. The next morning Stuyvesant and his council, having ratified the articles of capitulation, exchanged them with Nicolls, who, on his part, delivered the stipulated documents; and thereupon New Amsterdam was surrendered, and "the English, without any contest or claim being before put forth by any person to it, took possession of a fort built and continually garrisoned about forty years at the expense of the West India Company."^{*}

CHAP. I.

1664.

Terms explained to the people.

20 August.

8 Septem.

Articles

ratified.

New Am-

sterdam

surrendered.

The story of the reduction of Long Island and New Amsterdam has now been minutely told: the unexpected blockade of the port by the English; the overwhelming force of the invaders; the weakness of Fort Amsterdam and its garrison; the almost solitary heroism and loyalty of Stuyvesant; the natural resentment of the city burghers against the authorities in Holland, who had left them unprotected against surprise; their common prudence, which preferred the easy terms offered by the English commander to the consequences of an unavailing resistance and a capture by storm; their reasonable dread of being plundered by the English colonial volunteers from the east; the inevitable capitulation of the metropolis, and the consequent surrender of the whole Dutch province. There was, indeed—as Stuyvesant reluctantly confessed—"an absolute impossibility of defending the fort, much less the city of New Amsterdam, and still less the country."[†]

The Dutch province defenceless.

On the part of England this conquest of New Netherland was an act of peculiar national baseness. It was a scandalous outrage. It was planned in secret, and was accomplished with deliberate deceit toward a friendly government. None but Englishmen had the impudence to do so vile a wrong. Its true motive was carefully concealed

The conquest a scandalous outrage.

* Col. Doc., ii, 414, 415; Alb. Rec., xviii, 323, 324, 325; Col. MSS., xv., 145; Gen. Ent., i, 31, 32; *ante*, vol. i, 763. Smith, i, 32, errs in stating that Stuyvesant refused, for two days, to ratify the articles, because they were "very disagreeable" to him. The true reason was that a Sunday intervened, and the articles themselves provided for their due execution on Monday.

† Col. Doc., ii, 306. The first dispatches which Nicolls sent home, containing an account of his transactions with the New England colonies and the surrender of New Netherland, were lost at sea in the *Eliza* frigate, as will be stated hereafter: see Col. Doc., iii., 68, 92, 102; Pepps., ii., 155; *post*, p. 50, *note*.

CHAP. I.

1664.

in all the diplomatic statements which attempted to justify the deed. The navigation laws of England, which were chiefly meant to cripple the commerce of her great maritime rival, could not be enforced in America as long as that rival possessed so important a province there. The intensely selfish spirit of those laws eagerly employed the most unjustifiable means to maintain them. Because England coveted New Netherland, and not because she had any rightful claim, she treacherously seized it as a prize. The whole transaction was eminently characteristic of an insolent and overbearing nation. On no other principle than that which frequently afterward governed the predatory aggressions of England in India and elsewhere can her conquest of the Dutch province be defended.

The event
inevitable.

Nevertheless, unjustifiable as was the deed, the temptation to commit it was irresistible. Its actual execution was probably only a question of time. The event itself could hardly have been avoided by the Dutch government, unless all their previous policy had been reversed, and the holding of New Netherland at all hazards against any enemies been made an indispensable obligation. But this could not have been expected. Neither the West India Company—now on the brink of bankruptcy—nor the States General adequately valued their American province. It was not until toward the end of their rule that the importance of New Netherland and the necessity of securing it seriously engaged the attention of the authorities in Holland. Even then their apparent indifference encouraged the mousing designs of England. Charles the Second decreed that the United Netherlands should no longer have a foothold in North America. The decree was executed; and the Dutch province became the easy prey of undeclared enemies, who sneaked, in time of peace, into her chief harbor. New York replaced New Netherland on the map of the world. Although wars in Europe followed, the result in America was the same. Holland retired from the unequal strife, leaving France and Spain to contend for a season with England for ultimate supremacy in North America.

What En-
gland gain-
ed.

By the conquest of New Netherland England became the mistress of all the Atlantic coast between Acadia and Florida. On the north and west her colonies were now

bounded by the French possessions, on the south by those of Spain, on the east by the ocean. Yet, although the British American dominions thus became geographically united, they were neither homogeneous in character nor sympathetic in feeling. The Puritan colonies, while they rejoiced in the subjection of their "noxious neighbors" to the crown of England, had themselves no respect for their own ungodly sovereign. The aid which they had given to the royal commissioners was a fatal political mistake, if any purpose of independence was really cherished. They thus lost the best opportunity they ever had of securing their local governments, because the king was now master of the most advantageous position on the continent, from which he could, if necessary, direct military and naval operations for their reduction in case of revolt. Maryland, equally removed from Puritan severity and Cavalier license, was content that its territorial dispute should at all events be adjourned. Virginia, perhaps, felt less interest in the event, although the prompt loyalty of her people, who had hastened to proclaim their restored sovereign, was naturally gratified at the extension of his dominion over all the neighboring coast between Cape Henlopen and Montauk Point.

CHAP. I.

1664.

In the progress of years, a common allegiance and common dangers produced greater sympathy among the Anglo-American plantations. Nevertheless, although incorporated into the British colonial empire, New York never lost her social and political identity and her salutary moral influence. It was her lot to sustain fiercer trials, and gain a more varied experience, than any other American state. It was equally her destiny to temper the narrow characteristics of her English sister colonies with the larger ideas which she had herself derived from Holland. Midway between New England and Virginia, she stood for nearly a century guarding her long frontier against the attacks of Canada; and at length she became the PIVOT PROVINCE, on which hinged the most important movements of that sublime revolt against the oppression of England, the only parallel to which was the successful struggle that the forefathers of her first settlers maintained against the gigantic despotism of Spain.

Prevailing
influence of
New York.

CHAP. I.

1664.

Liberal policy of the Duke of York.

The terms of capitulation offered by Nicolls and accepted by Stuyvesant were, perhaps, the most favorable ever granted by a conqueror. In theory, the king only resumed his rightful authority over a province which had been intrusively occupied and improved by the Dutch. Once reduced under his own proprietary rule, the Duke of York hoped that it would become not only profitable to himself, but a valuable accession to the colonial dominions of the crown, to which he was the presumptive heir. His policy, therefore, was to obtain peaceful possession of the territory, and at the same time induce its Dutch inhabitants to remain there and become loyal English subjects. Indeed, the duke's patent authorized him to govern British subjects only. The most liberal inducements were accordingly offered to the people of New Netherland, with ostentatious benevolence. On the other hand, the Dutch colonists, chagrined at the imbecility and seeming indifference of the authorities in the fatherland, and having many causes of complaint against their own provincial government, accepted the change of rulers calmly and hopefully, if not with positive satisfaction.

The people gain nothing by the change.

Yet, by becoming British subjects, the Dutch inhabitants of New Netherland did not gain political freedom. Fresh names and laws, they found, did not secure fresh liberties. Amsterdam was changed to York, and Orange to Albany. But these changes only commemorated the titles of a conqueror. It was nearly twenty years before that conqueror allowed for a brief period to the people of New York even that faint degree of representative government which they had enjoyed when the three-colored ensign of Holland was hauled down from the flag-staff of Fort Amsterdam. New Netherland exchanged Stuyvesant, and the West India Company, and a republican sovereignty, for Nicolls, and a royal proprietor, and a hereditary king. The province was not represented in Parliament; nor could the voice of its people reach the chapel of Saint Stephen at Westminster as readily as it had reached the chambers of the Binnenhof at the Hague.

Loyalty of the Dutch.

Nevertheless, to all the changes which befell them, the Dutch colonists of New York submitted with characteristic good faith. No more loyal subjects than they were ever

brought under the British crown. Yet it was not pleasant for them to watch the red cross of England waving where the emblems of the Netherlands had floated for fifty years. To Holland they felt a deep, unalterable, hereditary attachment. Nor have the vicissitudes of time extinguished that sentiment in their descendants. Two centuries have scarcely weakened the veneration which citizens of New York of Dutch lineage proudly cherish toward the fatherland of their ancestors. Year by year the glorious and the genial memories of Holland are renewed by those whom long generations have separated from the country of their forefathers. But colonists usually retain more affection toward their fatherland than those who remain at home ever feel toward the emigrants who leave its shores. As years roll on, the contrast becomes more marked. Two centuries have almost wiped out of the recollection of Holland the once familiar name of New Netherland. A few of the more curious of her scholars and her statesmen may sometimes, by careful search, discover the meagre paragraphs in which her ponderous histories dismiss the story of her ancient trans-Atlantic province. But the people of the Low Countries scarcely know that New York was once their own New Netherland, or that they have any right to the glory of having laid the foundations of the mightiest state in the American Union, and the metropolis of the Western World.

CHAP. I.

1664.

Holland
forgets
New
Nether-
land.

CHAPTER II.

1664-1665.

CHAP. II.

1664.
29 August.
8 Septem.

The Dutch
march out
of Fort
Amster-
dam.

The En-
glish flag
hoisted.

ON Monday morning, the twenty-ninth of August, sixteen hundred and sixty-four, Peter Stuyvesant, having performed his last official act as Director General of New Netherland by ratifying the articles of capitulation, placed himself at the head of his garrison, and marched out of Fort Amsterdam with arms fixed, colors flying, drums beating, and matches lighted. Wheeling to the left, the veteran led his sullen troops down the Beaver Street to the North River. From there they were hurried on board the West India Company's ship *Gideon*, which was preparing to sail for Holland. This was so arranged because the Dutch soldiers were enraged at not being allowed to strike a blow, and the British infantry were prudently kept out of sight until they were safely embarked. In the mean time the English regulars had taken post near the old mill. The Long Island and New England auxiliaries, by previous agreement between Stuyvesant and Nicolls, were kept together on the Brooklyn side of the river, and were not allowed to enter the city, because the burghers "were more apprehensive of being plundered by them than by the others." As the Dutch garrison marched out, the ensign of the United Provinces was hauled down, and an English corporal's guard took possession of the fort and hoisted the British flag, which Nicolls had borrowed from the frigate *Guinea*. Leaving Colonel Cartwright with his company, which was stationed at the ferry, to occupy the city gates and the City Hall, Nicolls advanced at the head of his own and Sir Robert Carr's companies, and, accompanied by the burgomasters, marched into the fort. After being formally inducted by the civic authorities, who "gave him a welcome reception," the English governor performed his first

official act by directing that the city of New Amsterdam should thenceforth be called "New York," and Fort Amsterdam "Fort James."*

CHAP. II.

1664.

New York and Fort James named.

29 August. Long Island and New England volunteers dismissed.

The surrender being thus accomplished without bloodshed, Nicolls at once dismissed the Long Island and New England volunteers. The Massachusetts delegates were sent back, with the thanks of the royal commissioners to her General Court. The governor also addressed a letter to Captain John Younge, of Southold, who commanded the Long Island militia, desiring him to make out a list of those who had taken up arms "for their king and country," so that they might be suitably rewarded, and promising that deputies from the several towns should, "in convenient time and place, be summoned, to propose and give their advice in all matters tending to the peace and benefit of Long Island."†

The new provincial government was now organized. The governor's subordinate, Captain Matthias Nicolls, of Islip, in Northamptonshire, who had accompanied him from England, and was a lawyer, was appointed secretary of the province. Captains Robert Needham and Thomas Delavall, also from England, together with Secretary Nicolls, Thomas Topping, of Southampton, and William Wells, of Southold, were named counselors. On extraordinary occasions, Stuyvesant's late secretary, Cornelis van Ruyven, and Schepen Johannes van Brugh, were sometimes called on to assist. Delavall was also appointed collector and receiver general of New York and its neighborhood.‡

Nicolls's new government.

The Dutch municipal officers were continued in their places by virtue of the articles of capitulation. The day after the surrender, the Court of Burgomasters and Schepens of the city of New York assembled to transact their ordinary business, and proceeded to administer justice as if

30 August. 5 September.

* Aib. Rec., xviii., 326; Col. MSS., xv., 145; Gen. Ent., i., 32, 55; Hazard's Reg. Penn., iv., 54; New Amst. Rec., v., 567-570; Val. Man., 1890, 592, 593; Col. Doc., ii., 250-253, 415, 442, 443, 445, 446, 501, 502, 599, 744; Bushwick Rec.; Thompson, ii., 165; *ante*, vol. i., 742, 743, 763. As the old style was used in England, it was now introduced into New York. I did therefore follow that supputation, adding, whenever necessary, the corresponding date in the new style in a line under the old. The historical, and not the English legal year, will, however, be used between 1 January and 25 March.

† Gen. Ent., i., 29, 30; Thompson, i., 127; Smith, i., 32.
‡ *Exempla*, i., 2; *Deeds*, ii., 21; S. Wood, 144; Thompson, ii., 309; Val. Man., 1847, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

- CHAR. II. nothing unusual had occurred. A few days afterward they wrote to the West India Company, by the ship Gideon, which, with a pass from Nicolls, took home the late garrison, under the command of Ensign Nyssen, describing the surrender, and adding that, "since we have no longer to depend upon your honor's promises or protection, we, with all the poor, sorrowing, and abandoned commonalty here, must fly for refuge to the Almighty God, not doubting but He will stand by us in this sorely afflicting conjuncture." By the same vessel Stuyvesant and his late council also sent the company an official account of the capitulation, and declared "that they would prefer to suffer shipwreck in the empty praise and esteem of the world, than, waiting to the last moment without hope of relief, subject every thing to bloodshed, or at least to the danger of being plundered."* Domine Samuel Drisius, one of the collegiate ministers of the Dutch Church, also wrote an interesting letter to the Classis of Amsterdam, detailing the circumstances of the surrender.†

1664.

6, Septem.
10 City offi-
cers contin-
ued.

6, Septem.
10 Letters to
Holland.

15 Septem.

English
and Dutch
Church
service.

11 October.

For the first time, the English Episcopal service was now celebrated in New York. The articles of capitulation expressly declared that all public buildings should continue in their previous uses, and that the Dutch should enjoy their accustomed divine worship and church discipline. Provision was accordingly made by the burgomasters and schepens for the due support of the Domines Megapolensis and Drisius, until the governor should make farther arrangements. The chaplain of the English forces had, however, no proper place in which to celebrate divine service, except in the Dutch Church in the fort. It was very cordially arranged that after the Dutch had ended their own morning worship in their church, the British chaplain should read the Church of England service there to the governor and the garrison. This was all the footing that the English Episcopal Church had in New York for more than thirty years.‡

* Gen. Ent., l. 34, 35, 141; New Amst. Rec., v., 555, 560-570; Val. Man., 1860, 592, 593; Col. Dec., ii., 422, 509, 744; Mass. Hist. Soc., Trumbull Pap., xx., 73; Col. MSS., x. (iii.), 323.

† A translation of this letter, which gives several details heretofore unknown, was published for the first time in the Appendix to Brodhead's Oration on the Conquest of New Netherland, delivered before the New York Historical Society on 12 October, 1864.

‡ Doc. Hist. N. Y., iii., 265; Col. Dec., iii., 262, 415; iv., 325, 526; New Amst. Rec., v., 539; Hist. Mag., i. (ii.), 322; Benson's Mem., ii. N. Y. H. S. Coll. (ii.), 103; Humphreys's

Meanwhile, Fort Orange and Esopus, although included in the capitulation, remained to be reduced under the duke's authority. Accordingly, as soon as the Gideon had sailed for Holland with the Dutch garrison, and the safety of the capital was thus assured, Nicolls commissioned his colleague, Colonel Cartwright, to go up the river with his company and occupy those places. The authorities and inhabitants of Fort Orange were required to aid him in obtaining quiet possession, and to obey him according to the governor's instructions, especially "in case the Mohawks or other Indians shall attempt any thing against the lives, goods, or chattels of those who are now under the protection of his majesty of Great Britain." Van Rensselaer was also directed to bring the title papers respecting Rensselaerswyck down to New York for the governor's inspection, and, in the mean time, to obey Cartwright's orders. In order to secure the transfer to the English of the friendship which the Iroquois had cherished toward the Dutch, Nicolls requested some persons who had experience in dealing with the savages to accompany the military officers of the expedition. One of these was Willett, of Plymouth, and the other was Captain Thomas Breedon, of Boston, formerly governor of Nova Scotia, who had visited Fort Orange in 1662. Cartwright's chief military subordinates were Captain John Manning and Captain Daniel Brodhead. Manning seems to have formerly commanded a trading vessel between New Haven and Manhattan, but was now in the regular service. Brodhead was a zealous Royalist, of Yorkshire, England, where his family had lived "in the credit and reputation of gentlemen," and who, having a captain's commission from the king, embarked with his household for America in the expedition of Nicolls.*

When Cartwright reached Fort Orange, he found that De Decker, one of Stuyvesant's late plenipotentiaries at the capitulation, had hurried up thither from New York,

CHAP. II.

1664.

19 Septem.

20 Septem.
Expedition
to Fort
Orange.

September.

* *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1891, p. 201; Thompson, ii., 205; Christian Journal, quoted in Dr. Berrian's sketch of Trinity Church, 11. The names of the earliest chaplains of the English forces in New York are not known. The first that has come down to us is that of the Rev. Charles Wolley, a graduate of Cambridge, who officiated from Aug., 1678, to July, 1680; *Hist. Mag.*, v., 153, 159. *Gen. Ent.*, i., 34, 35, 141; *Renss. MSS.*: *Col. Doc.*, i., 436; ii., 422, 502; iii., 30-41, 65, 110, 170; iv., 75; *Mun-ell's Ann.*, vii., 97; *Morton's Mem.*, 311, note; *Hutch. Mass.*, i., 129, 134, 225; *Mass. Rec.*, iv. (ii.), 69, 75; *Hazard*, ii., 462, 463; *Palfrey*, i., 163; ii., 164, 165; *New Haven Rec.*, ii., 68-75; *Jesselyn's Voyages*, 153; ii. *N. Y. H. S. Coll.*, 1864, (1869), 16, 37, 57, 557, ante, vol. I., 519, 523, 579, 583, 704, 736, 743.

CHAP. II. and was endeavoring "to alienate the minds of his majes-
 1664. ties' Dutch subjects from that happy reconciliation with-
 Fort Or- out bloodshed upon articles so lately made." But the
 ange sub- counselor's efforts were vain. La Montagne and the mag-
 mite. istrates had no disposition to resist. Little change was
 Named Al- forth to be called "Albany," after the Scotch title of the
 bany. Duke of York. All the inferior officers and civil magis-
 Mann- istrates were continued in their places. An English garri-
 command- son occupied the little fortress, which was named "Fort
 er. Albany," and placed in charge of Captain Manning. Soon
 24 Septem. afterward, several Mohawk and Seneca sachems appeared
 First En- at the fort, and signed with Cartwright the first treaty be-
 glish treaty tween the Iroquois and the English. It was covenanted
 with the that the Indians should have all the commodities from the
 Iroquois. English which they formerly had from the Dutch; that
 offenses should be reciprocally punished; and that the Riv-
 er Indians, and those below Manhattan, should be included
 25 Septem. in the treaty. The next day it was farther agreed that
 the English should not assist the hostile Eastern tribes, that
 they should make peace for the Iroquois with the nations
 down the river, that the Iroquois should have free trade,
 and "be lodged in houses" as formerly, and that, if they
 should be beaten by the Eastern tribes, they should "re-
 ceive accommodation" from the English. The friendship
 thus established continued to be maintained with remark-
 able fidelity on both sides for more than a century, until
 the American Revolutionary War.

On his return from Albany Cartwright landed at Eso-
 pus. As at Albany, care was taken to conciliate the in-
 habitants. William Beekman was retained in his place as
 schout, or sheriff, while Thomas Chambers remained com-
 missary, and Matthys Capito secretary of the village of
 Wildwyck. A garrison of regular soldiers occupied the
 fort, under the command of Captain Brodhead. The only
 opposition which Cartwright experienced during his expe-
 dition was from De Decker, at Albany; and Nicolls, on
 learning his conduct, ordered the too patriotic Hollander to
 leave the government within ten days. The deputies who
 accompanied Cartwright from Albany agreed to written
 articles with Nicolls that the inhabitants there "should en-
 30 Septem.
 10 October.

Brodhead
 in com-
 mand at
 Esopus.

joy all the articles of surrender" made at New York, and that former local arrangements were generally to remain in force. Jeremias van Rensselaer was also confirmed in his authority, on condition that a new patent should be obtained from the duke, and the inhabitants of Rensselaerwyck should take the oath of allegiance.*

CHAP. II.

1664.

18 October.
Rensselaer-
wyck.

By the articles of capitulation, the Dutch, who were three fourths of the inhabitants, were at liberty to sell their lands, and remove with their families and personal effects to Holland. But Nicolls, from the first, had been anxious to retain them all in their present homes, and induce them to become British subjects. He therefore went to the meeting of the metropolitan burgomasters and sche- pens, and having sent for Stuyvesant, Van Ruyven, and the Dutch ministers, invited them to take an oath to be true subjects of the King of Great Britain, and to obey all commands from his majesty, the Duke of York, or his governors and officers, while they lived in any of his majesty's territories. This obligation did not involve any permanent renunciation of allegiance to the Dutch government. Nevertheless, great reluctance to take it was shown, as the articles of surrender, while they declared that "all people shall still continue free denizens," did not provide for their swearing to a new allegiance. After much debate, "all the meeting roundly declared" that they could not take such an oath unless the governor should add to it "conformable to the articles concluded on the surrender of this place." Their reason for insisting was that otherwise they might "nullify or render void the articles." Domine Megapolensis and Secretary Van Ruyven, however, "saw no impediment" to taking the proposed oath.

14 October.

Oath of al-
legiance
required.

A few days afterward the burgomasters called upon Nicolls, with whom, in the presence of Cartwright and Willett, the matter of swearing was again discussed. To put an end to the "false and injurious aspersion" regarding it by which the minds of the inhabitants were by this time distracted, Nicolls declared in writing "that the articles of surrender are not in the least broken, or intended to be broken, by any words or expressions in the said oath." This

18 October.

20 October.

* Gen. Ent., i., 36-40; Col. Doc., III., 67, 68, 94; Golden (ed. 1755), i., 34; Smith, i., 23; H. Y. H. S. Col., i., 381; Munsell, vii., 97, 98; Val. Man., 1847, p. 370; Esopus Records; Col. Ent., ii., 45, 46, 502; *ante*, vol. i., 714, 729, 732, 744, 761.

CHAP. II.

1664.
21 October
to
26 October.
Allegiance
sworn by
the Dutch.

answer satisfied all. Tonneman, the schout, although intending to return to Holland in the next ship, did not refuse to take the obligation. In the course of the next five days, upward of two hundred and fifty of the Dutch inhabitants, including Stuyvesant, Van Ruyven, the Domines Megapolensis and Drisius, Beekman, Van Rensselaer, and others from New York, Esopus, and Albany, swore allegiance to Charles the Second and the Duke of York.*

The governor's statesmanship was quickly vindicated. The "Vroedschap," or great council of the city, having been called together to elect a successor to Tonneman, chose Alard Anthony; and Nicolls, confirming their choice, gave the new sheriff a commission and instructions for his guidance. As the soldiers had already become unruly, Nicolls appointed Anthony Wharton to be provost-marshal, to keep them from interfering with the citizens, and to punish offenders. The city authorities testified their good will in a letter to the Duke of York, drawn up by Burgomaster Steenwyck, praising Nicolls as a "gentle, wise, and intelligent" governor, under whose wings they hoped to "bloom and grow like the cedar on Lebanon." To this end they prayed that the city of New York might have the same commercial privileges as the king's subjects in England, or even be as free from burdens as Boston; in which case, in a few years, the duke would derive great revenues from a province which would be "then peopled with thousands of families, and having great trade by sea with New England, and other places in Europe, Africa, and America."†

Yorkshire
and Albania.

Thus was an imperial territory added to the dominions of England. Specific names were now given to the acquisition, so as to "comprehend all the titles" of the Duke of York. The province itself was called "New York." Long Island was designated as "Yorkshire." The region between the Hudson and the Delaware, of which little was known beyond the few hamlets near Manhattan, was named "Albania."

Of all the territory of New York, Albania offered the greatest attractions to emigrants. It was considered the

* Gen. Ent., i., 49, 50; New Amsterdam Rec., v., 614-618; Val. Man., 1861, 605-607; Col. Doc., iii., 74-77; H. B. Dawson's "Sons of Liberty in New York," 14-16.

† New Amst. Rec., v., 613-646; Patents, i., 151-155; Val. Man., 1861, 607, 608; Valentine's City of New York, 161-163.

most "improveable part" of the province "in respect not only to the quantity of the land, but to the sea-coast and Delaware River, the fertility of the soil, the neighborhood to Hudson's River, and, lastly, the fair hopes of rich mines." Communnipaw, Bergen, and Staten Island, already settled by the Dutch, were now to gain new neighbors. John Bailey, Daniel Denton, and others, of Jamaica, on Long Island, asked leave to buy and settle a tract of land on the After Cull River,* which they had formerly intended to do, but had been "obstructed by the then ruling Dutch." Nicolls, wishing to give the Long Island people some "reward for their fidelity" previous to the surrender, cheerfully assented, and promised the petitioners "all due encouragement in so good a work." Bailey and Denton, with their associates, soon bought from the savages the land between the Raritan River and Newark Bay, which had been purchased thirteen years before by Augustine Heermans. The English purchase, however, was confirmed by Nicolls to Captain John Baker and John Ogden, who had bought out Denton's interest, and to Bailey and their associates, upon condition of their "doing and performing such acts and things as shall be appointed by his royal highness the Duke of York or his deputy." Before long, four families from Jamaica began the settlement of what was soon afterward known as Elizabethtown.†

CHAP. II.

1664.

Settlements in Albania.

23 Sept.

30 Sept.

23 October.

2 Dec.

Grants of land.
24 Dec.

3 October.

The military and naval officers who accompanied Nicolls from England also became large landholders. Captain James Bollen, the commissary of ammunition at Fort James, and others, received a grant on Staten Island. A tract at Hackensack was granted to Captain Edward Grove, of the Martin. To Captain William Hill, Lieutenant Humphrey Fox, and Master Coleman, of the Elias, were severally allotted parcels of land on Staten Island. The naval grantees, however, had scarcely time to take possession of their domains; for their ships, being no longer required for service at New York, were sent back to England with dis-

* This was an English corruption of the Dutch name "Achter Cull" (now called Newark Bay), which was given because it was *achter*, or "behind" the bay of New York. The passage leading to this cul was called the "Kil van Cul," and is now known as "the Kills." See *note*, vol. I., 313, *note*.

† C. L. Doc., III., 155; Chalmers, I., 615, 624, 625; Patents, I., 20; Elizabethtown Bill in *Annals*, 1743, 25-28; Learning and Spicer, 668-673; Smith's N. Jersey, 62; Gordon, 27; W. L. Doc., I., I., 30-39; Index N. J. Col. Doc., 47; Thompson's L. I., II., 163; Denton's N. Y., 15, 16; *note*, vol. I., 537, 707, 708, 724.

CHAP. II. patches from Nicolls announcing the success of the expedition, and the establishment of the duke's government in 1664. what was lately New Netherland.*

The Delaware Territory.

An important question had been meanwhile presented for the action of the royal commissioners. The Duke of York's patent included only the territory lying east of the Delaware, and the authority of Nicolls as governor extended no farther. Yet the commissioners were instructed by the king to reduce to his obedience the Dutch wherever seated within his claimed dominions in North America. Nicolls soon learned that the Maryland people were "in some sort overawed" by the city of Amsterdam, to which the Delaware settlements belonged, and that, unless those possessions were acquired, the gaining of New York would be "of small advantage to his majesty." Without regarding Lord Baltimore's pretensions, the commissioners determined "to reduce the Delaware, thereby to assure this place for his royal highness."

3 Sept. Expedition to reduce the Dutch on the Delaware.

Five days after the capitulation of New Amsterdam, Nicolls, with Cartwright and Maverick, accordingly commissioned their colleague, Sir Robert Carr, to go with the Guinea, Captain Hyde, and the William and Nicholas, Captain Morley, and "all the soldiers which are not in the fort," and reduce the Delaware settlements. Carr was instructed to promise the Dutch the possession of all their property and all their present privileges, "only that they change their masters." To the Swedes he was to "remonstrate their happy return under a monarchical government, and his majesty's good inclination to that nation." To Lord Baltimore's officers in Maryland he was to declare that their proprietor's pretended right to the Delaware being "a doubtful case," possession would be kept for the king "till his majesty is informed and satisfied otherwise."†

Carr's expedition sailed from New York just before Cart-

* Patents, i, 5, 7-9, 22; Col. Doc., ii., 470; iii., 68, 92, 103. The *Hias* was wrecked near the Lizard, and all the letters in her sent by Nicolls were lost. For this reason, among others, the early records relating to New York in the State Paper Office are so defective. Captain Hill and a few men were saved. Hill afterward obtained another ship, was at the battle of Lowestoffe the next June, then at Barbadoes, and in the autumn of 1667 returned to England from France, where he had been a prisoner. Captain Grove arrived safely with the *Martin*, and behaved like a coward at Lowestoffe. He was "reckoned a prating coxcomb and of no courage," and was certainly an adept in the business of bribing for office: *Pepys*, i., 401, 402; iii., 294; *Mass. H. S. Coll.*, xxxvii., 130.

† *Gen. Inq.*, 53, 54, 59; *Hazard's Reg. Penn.*, 36, 37; *Col. Doc.*, ii., 296; iii., 52, 57, 62, 63, 70; *Col. Mass.*, xx., 1.

wright's went up to Fort Orange. After a tedious voyage, CHAP. II.
 prolonged by the ignorance of the pilots and the shoalness
 of the Delaware, the ships anchored above New Amstel. 1664.
 The Swedes were soon made friends. But the Dutch at 30 Sept.
 first were obstinate for a defense. After a long parley,
 Rob Oothout and five others, on behalf of the burghers,
 signed articles of capitulation as favorable as those which 11 Oct.
 had been agreed to by Stuyvesant. But Hinnoyossa, the
 city's governor, with less than fifty soldiers, resolved to de-
 fend the fort. The next Sunday morning the ships drop- 12 Oct.
 ped down, and fired two broadsides each, while a company Conquest of the Del- aware.
 of foot, under the command of Lieutenant John Carr, a son
 of Sir Robert, with Ensign Arthur Stock, stormed the works.
 The Dutch fired three volleys of musketry, but none of
 their ordnance, on their assailants, who did not lose a man;
 while three of the garrison were killed and ten wounded.
 Carr now landed from the Guinea, and claimed the pillage
 for himself as "won by the sword." Assuming an author-
 ity independent of Nicolls, he claimed to be "sole and chief
 commander and disposer" of all affairs on the Delaware.
 With quick rapacity, he appropriated Hinnoyossa's farm to Capacity of Carr.
 himself, Schout Van Sweringen's to his son John, and Peter
 Ahricks's to Ensign Stock. To Captains Hyde and Morley
 he granted a tract of land in the upper part of the river, 13 Oct.
 called by the Indians "Chipussen," which he erected into a
 manor by the name of "Grimstead." The Dutch soldiers
 were sent into Virginia to be sold as slaves. The property
 of the city of Amsterdam, as well as that of the inhabitants
 about New Amstel, was remorselessly seized. To complete
 the work of Carr—in such disgraceful contrast to that of
 Nicolls at Manhattan—a boat was sent down to the Hoar-
 kill, where all the city's effects were plundered, and even
 the inoffensive Mennonists, who formed "the Quaking So-
 ciety of Plockhoy," were stripped "to a very naile."

The ships were quickly sent back to New York with a 13 Oct.
 report from Carr of his proceedings, and of the hostile at-
 titude of the Susquehanna Indians, who were then at war
 with the Iroquois Senecas. But Carr himself, instead of
 returning to assist in executing the royal commission,
 would not leave the Delaware. His colleagues thought Carr re- baked.
 his conduct there presumptuous and disgraceful. They

CHAP. II.

1664.

24 Oct.

3 Novem.

26 Oct.

5 Novem.

Nicolls's
report to
Secretary
Bennet.

26 Oct.

22 Novem.

Nicolla
goes to the
Delaware.

peremptorily required him to return to New York; and Cartwright and Maverick commissioned Nicolls to proceed to Delaware Bay, "there to take special care for the good government of the said place, and to depute such officer or officers therein as he shall think fit, for the management of his majestie's affairs, both civil and military, until his majestie's pleasure be further known." In writing to Secretary Bennet, Nicolls rebuked Carr's conduct, and added that because of his absence, "his majestie's commission can not be pursued in the several colonies of New England unless I should leave New York, and thereby put to hazard the security of all at once, contrary to the opinions of Colonel Cartwright, Mr. Maverick, and all the reason which God hath given me. For we do concur that we came to serve his majesty and not our own ends." Nicolls farther urged that merchandise for the Indian trade and the necessities of the inhabitants should be promptly sent out. By the loss of the former Dutch trade, thousands in Virginia, Maryland, and New England were deprived of their accustomed necessities, and would not know how to live "without speedy care be taken from England." If Lord Baltimore should solicit the grant of Delaware to himself, the king ought to look upon his patent as forfeited, for trading with the Dutch contrary to the Navigation Act. Nicolls also submitted that if the Dutch should attempt to recover either New York or Delaware, the king should "enjoin all his colonies, none excepted, under severe penalties, to resist and expel all such foreigners out of these his majesty's territories." With these dispatches the Guinea was ordered to follow the Elias and the Martin to England. But her departure was delayed by a mutiny which broke out among the soldiers in the garrison of Fort James, and she did not sail until nearly a month afterward. Captain Harry Norwood, whom Nicolls not long afterward recommended as his own successor, returned in her to England.

In pursuance of the commission of his two colleagues, Nicolls visited the Delaware, accompanied by Captain Robert Needham, whom he proposed to leave there as his deputy in command. Carr was severely rebuked, and obliged to give up much of his ill-gotten spoil. Nevertheless, he could not be persuaded to leave the place for some time.

The name of New Amstel was now changed to New Castle, and an infantry garrison established there. As Needham's presence at Fort James, to act as first counselor, was desirable, Captain John Carr was appointed commander of the Delaware, in subordination to the government of New York, to which it was annexed "as an appendage;" and thus affairs remained for several years.*

CHAP. II.

1664.

Upon the return of Nicolls to New York, the royal commissioners proceeded to execute a very delicate duty. The Connecticut Charter of 1662 covered not only the entire territory of New Haven, but also a large part of New Netherland. The Dutch rejected the claims of the Hartford Court, and New Haven stoutly refused to yield to Connecticut, because her charter had been surreptitiously obtained "contrary to righteousness, amity, and peace." The Duke of York's patent, however, not only comprehended Long Island and other neighboring islands, but the whole of New Haven, and the greater part of Connecticut, including Hartford itself. When this became known, both the wrangling Puritan colonies were seriously troubled at a specimen of majestic usurpation which outdid their own encroachments on the Dutch territory. Yet Connecticut was in no condition to oppose so powerful an antagonist as the presumptive heir to the crown. New Haven was still more helpless. Her only alternative was submission to Connecticut, or annexation to New York. After a sorrowful debate, her General Court determined to submit to Connecticut; yet final action was postponed until it could no longer be avoided.

Boundary with Connecticut.

11 August.
14 September.

In this dilemma it was important to conciliate the royal commissioners. At their first meeting after the surrender of New Netherland, the Connecticut Court voted a present of five hundred bushels of corn to Nicolls and his colleagues. They also appointed Mathew Allyn, Nathan Gold, James Richards, and Captain John Winthrop to go with Governor Winthrop to New York and congratulate the commissioners, "and, if an opportunity offer itself, that they can issue the bounds between the duke's patent and

13 October.

Agents sent to New York.

* Conn. Hist., I., 53, 55, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, 67; Coll. MSS., xx., 1; Col. Doc., II., 369, 411, 421, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

CHAP. II.

1664.

30 Novem.

Long Isl-
and ad-
judged to
New York.

ours (so as in their judgments may be to the satisfaction of the court), they are impowered to attend the same." John Howell and Captain John Younge, of Long Island, were desired "to attend the same service." Horses were likewise presented by Winthrop to the royal commissioners.*

The Connecticut delegates accordingly visited New York, where they were received by Nicolls, Cartwright, and Mavcrick. Both patents were produced, and all that could be said on each side was fully considered. The question about Long Island was soon decided. The duke's patent expressly included it by name; that of Connecticut did not. Moreover, Governor Winthrop, at Gravesend, a few days before the surrender, had declared that the jurisdiction formerly exercised by Connecticut over Long Island "ceased and became null." The commissioners, therefore, at once determined that the southern boundary of Connecticut should be the Sound, and that Long Island should be under the government of the Duke of York, "as is so expressed by plain words in the said patents respectively."

But Connecticut claimed that, under her charter, her territory extended across the continent to the Pacific Ocean. On the other hand, the Duke of York's patent covered all her territory west of the Connecticut River, and left her only the narrow strip between the east side of that river and Rhode Island. Moreover, she had not yet obtained possession of New Haven. Her charter had been granted only upon Winthrop's promise of submission "to any alteration" in her boundaries which might be made by the king's commissioners. Their authority to declare Hartford itself within the jurisdiction of New York, as it had once been within the jurisdiction of New Netherland, could not be disputed. The original Indian deed of 8 June, 1633, to Commissary Van Curler, of the land around Hartford, was appealed to in proof. But the commissioners were supplicated not to enforce the duke's patent to its full extent, which would deprive Connecticut of her "very bowels and principal parts." In the judgment of Nicolls, such a decision would "cast dishonor upon his majesty,"

* Col. Rec. Conn., I., 415, 427, 423, 425; III., 480; New Haven Rec., II., 497-480, 491-548; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxvii., 311; Col. Doc., III., 184; Chalmers, I., 293-296; Dec. Hist. N. Y., I., 504; Trembail, I., 219-272, 315-321; Palfrey, II., 549-556, 592-595; III., 226; ante, vol. I., 519, 702, 723.

and be "to the utter ruin of that colony, and a manifest breach of their late patent." Besides, in the delicate relations in which the commissioners were placed respecting all the New England colonies, it was important this should be made "a leading case of equal justice." They therefore determined that five towns, which "had been purchased, possessed, or gained" by Hartford, or by New Haven, should be "relinquished to Connecticut by virtue of their precedent grant from his majesty." Such a settlement, they "were assured, would be an acceptable service" to the Duke of York, although to the diminution of his patented bounds.

CHAP. II.

1664.

Five towns yielded to Connecticut.

At the same time, it was distinctly understood on both sides that the dividing line should run "about twenty miles from any part of Hudson's River." An agreement to this effect was drawn up between Nicolls and Winthrop and his colleagues. To define the starting-point and the compass direction of this boundary, an amendment was inserted, describing it as running from the head of Mamaroneck Creek to the north-north-west, until it reaches the Massachusetts line. The amendment seems to have been proposed by the Connecticut delegates, who assured Nicolls that the boundary thus described would be "twenty miles every where from Hudson's River."

30 Novem.

Boundary-line on the main land.

Upon this basis the royal commissioners the next day signed an instrument, in which, after declaring Long Island to be under the government of the Duke of York, they ordered "that the creek or river called Mamaroneck, which is reported to be about thirteen miles to the east of Westchester, and a line drawn from the east point or side, where the fresh water falls into the salt at high-water-mark, north-north-west to the line of the Massachusetts, be the western bounds of the said colony of Connecticut; and all plantations lying westward of that creek and line so drawn to be under his royal highness's government; and all plantations lying eastward of that creek and line to be under the government of Connecticut." Winthrop and his colleagues at the same time gave their "consent to the limit and bounds above mentioned."*

1 Decem.

Boundaries established.

* Gen. Hist., i., 70, 71; N. Y. Col. MSS., xxii., 5; ixix., 1-6; N. Y. Senate Doc., 1857, No. 400, p. 7, 32, 41, 42, 100-104; Col. Doc., ii., 139, 140; iii., 55, 106, 238; vii., 564, 597; Col.

CHAP. II.

1664.
13 Decem.Trickery of
Connecti-
cut.

For the moment, this settlement of the dispute seemed to be satisfactory to both parties. The submission of New Haven to Connecticut was soon completed. But Nicolls and his colleagues were strangers, and ignorant of the geography of the country. They supposed that they had adopted substantially the same boundary agreed to by the Dutch and English colonies in 1650. Unfortunately, they "relied upon" the assurances of the Connecticut delegates, and were deceived by "wrong information" which no honest or intelligent adviser could have given. The line assented to and intended by Nicolls—twenty miles every where from the Hudson River—instead of starting at Mamaroneck, should have started several miles farther to the east, near Stamford; and, instead of running north-north-west, it should have run due north. But the duped commissioners established a line, the starting-point of which was about ten miles from the Hudson, and which, crossing that river near Peekskill, intersected the prolonged southern boundary of Massachusetts near the north-west corner of the present New York county of Ulster. All the territory north and east of this line was thus apparently assigned to Connecticut and Massachusetts. The absurd error was soon detected, and the boundary was never ratified by the Duke of York or by the crown. But the pertinacity with which Connecticut clung to what looked very much like a mean deception on her part was afterward the cause of great controversy.*

Long Isl-
and affairs.
1 Decem.

Long Island being now settled under the Duke of York's authority, Nicolls, to conciliate its inhabitants, addressed a letter to Howell and Younge, who acted as their representatives at New York. Referring to his promise when he dismissed the troops in August, after the surrender, he informed all persons that Long Island was declared to be under the duke's government; that, as it was now winter, he would not trouble the inhabitants to send deputies to an Assembly in relation to the affairs of the island; but that,

Rec. Conn., II. 341, 570-573; III. 330; New Haven Rec., II. 555, 556; Smith, I. 36-38, 297; II. 305, 306; Trumbull, I. 273, 523, 525; Wood's Long Island, 23, 170, 173; Thompson, I. 126; II. 323; Dunlap, II. App. civi.; *ante*, vol. I. 56, 182, 234, 235, 519.

* Col. Rec. Conn., I. 441; II. 341, 572, 573; III. 330; New Haven Rec., II. 551-557; Col. Doc., III. 94, 220, 231, 235, 238, 247, 257, 323, 376, 406, 761; IV. 625; V. 698; VI. 125, 776, 885; VII. 563, 564, 566, 597; VIII. 345; Hutch. Coll., 412; Smith, I. 38; Chalmers, I. 296, 576; Trumbull, I. 274; N. Y. II. S. Coll. (1869), 76.

as soon as the weather should permit, he would notify them of the time and place of meeting. In the mean time, the existing magistrates should remain in their places under the duke's government. No new taxes had yet been thought of; those laid by Connecticut should continue for a time; but the people might "assure themselves of equal (if not greater) freedoms and immunities than any of his majesty's colonies in New England." Upon the return of Howell and Younge, a town meeting was held at East Hampton, at which, "understanding that we are off from Connecticut, and the magistrates not willing to act further on that account, that we may not be without laws and government, it is agreed the former laws shall stand in force till we have further order from New York."*

CHAP. II.

1664.

21 Decem.

In the mean time, the West India Company had informed the States General of the English conquest of New Netherland, by which the republic had "lost a province, the appearance whereof was wonderful to behold." The States at once directed Van Gogh, their ambassador at London, to expostulate with the king, and demand "prompt restitution and reparation." Van Gogh, in an audience with Charles, denounced the capture as "an erroneous proceeding, opposed to all right and reason, contrary to mutual correspondence and good neighborhood, and a notorious infraction of the treaty lately concluded." Finding that he could no longer dissimulate, the king replied with the audacious falsehood that his "dependency" New Netherland "had been settled and occupied before this by the English, who only permitted the Dutch nation at the outset to settle there, without any authority having been thereby conferred upon the Dutch West India Company." The next day Clarendon wrote to Downing that the Dutch need not expect the king to restore his conquests; "for they have no color of right to pretend to New Netherland, nor is our possessing that the least violation of the treaty." Downing accordingly told De Witt that the king was not accountable to the Dutch government for what he had done in America, "no more than he should think himself obliged to let them know his mind, or to have their consent, in case

14 Oct.

31 Oct.

27 October.
6 Novem.
The Dutch government denounce the conquest of New Netherland and demand its restitution.

28 October.
4 Novem.

14 Novem.

* Gen. Ent., i., 29, 65, 66; Thompson's L. L., i., 127, 311, 382, 383; ii., 323, 324, 327; Wood, 177; Dunlap, ii., App. xxxvii.; Col. Doc., iii., 86; Doc. Hist., i., 462; ante, p. 43.

CHAR. II.

1664.

25 Novem.
5 Decem.

2^d Decem.
Orders to
De Ruyter.

24 Novem.
4 Decem.

6th Decem.

16 Decem.

Hostilities
began by
England.

he should think fit to proceed against any Dutch that live in the fens in England, or in any other part of his dominions." Without stopping to demonstrate the transparent absurdity of this comparison, the Grand Pensionary peremptorily replied that New Netherland "must be restored."^{*}

Not long afterward Downing presented an insolent memorial to the States General, in which any reference to New Netherland was avoided. It was now clear that no redress was to be expected from England. Secret orders were therefore sent to De Ruyter, who commanded the Dutch squadron on the coast of Africa, to reduce the English possessions there, after which he was to proceed on his voyage home, "and inflict, by way of reprisal, as much damage and injury as possible on said nation, either at Barbadoes, New Netherland, Newfoundland, or other islands and places under their obedience."

At the opening of Parliament, the king laid great stress upon the proceedings of the Dutch in Africa and the East Indies, but did not allude to his own treacherous conquest of New York. A few days afterward Van Gogh had unsatisfactory interviews with the king and the Duke of York, both of whom were evidently disposed to hostilities. With his report, the ambassador communicated to the States General, for the first time, a copy of the king's grant of New Netherland to the Duke of York.

It was not long before Downing informed the British government of the secret orders which the States General had sent to De Ruyter. Bennet and Coventry warmly urged hostilities against the Dutch. The Privy Council immediately directed letters of reprisal to be issued against "the ships, goods, and servants" of the United Provinces. According to British custom, without any formal declaration of war, one hundred and thirty Dutch merchant vessels were seized in the English ports.[†]

* Col. Dec., ii., 272-285; iii., 77-81; Aitzema, v., 193; Sec. Res. Holl., ii., 445; De Witt, iv., 386, 387, 390, 391, 393; Holl. Merc., 1664, 175; D'Estrades, ii., 530, 535; Lister's Clarendon, ii., 269; iii., 346-351; Hume, vi., 355.

† Col. Dec., ii., 285-298; iii., 85; Parl. Hist., iv., 296-303; Clarke's James II., i., 491-104; Aitzema, v., 95, 94; De Witt, iv., 413; Sec. Res. Holl., ii., 451; Holl. Merc., 1664, 185, 186; Lister, ii., 279; iii., 352-355; Basnage, i., 714; Davies, iii., 27, 28; Pepys, ii., 189, 192; Martin, i., 262. Downing stopped at nothing to gain his objects. He told Pepys "that he had so good spies that he hath had the keys taken out of De Witt's pocket when he was a-bed, and his closet opened, and papers brought to him and left in his hands for an hour;" and "that he hath always had their most private debates that have been but between two or

Intelligence of the threatening aspect of affairs in Europe had meanwhile reached Nicolls by way of Boston. As a measure of precaution, he ordered all the estate of the West India Company in the hands of Stuyvesant and Van Ruyven to be put under arrest. A few days afterward all persons were directed to report what they knew about the property thus sequestrated to the benefit of the Duke of York.*

CHAP. II.

1664.

13 Decem.

24 Decem.

27 Decem.

Action of
Nicolls.

The West India Directors, on their part, felt the loss of New Netherland very keenly. Stuyvesant's official report was unsatisfactory. The "licentious prating" of the soldiers who had returned in the Gideon from New York only increased their annoyance. They determined to "disavow all the articles and capitulations" made with the English by the governor and council, and endeavor to regain New Netherland. Accordingly, they sent one of their ships to New York, with a dispatch to Stuyvesant, requiring him to come home and give "by word of mouth more comfort" than his letters had afforded. They also desired Van Ruyven to save what he could of their property.

18 Novem.

28

The West

India Com-

pany recall

Stuyve-

sant.

When these letters were received at New York, Nicolls, anxious for news, required Stuyvesant and Van Ruyven to bring them to him. As the West India Company appeared determined to annul the capitulation and retake the province, he felt himself "obliged so far to abide their displeasure as to seize upon their effects, and to remit the decision to his majesty, whether, after such a letter, they ought to claim any benefit by articles which in so contemptuous a manner they have disavowed."

1665.

15 Feb.

23 Feb.

5 March.

Nicoll-

seizes the

company's

estate.

Stuyvesant, however, could not avoid going to Holland to defend his action; and Nicolls granted him a passport to go and return, with his son and his servants. Considering the need of supplies to New York, Nicolls also licensed the West India Company's ship "Crossed Heart" to go to and return from Holland with merchandise. By her Van Ruyven wrote to the Amsterdam directors that it was "impossible to keep" New Netherland against the "vast, overwhelming force of the assailants;" and that, if their

21 April.

1 May.

29 April.

9 May.

* One of the chief of them brought to him in an hour after, and an hour after that hath sent word thereof to the king."—Peyps, iv., 72, 73; see also Temple's Works, i., 307.

* Col. Doc., iii., 84; Gen. Ent., i., 76, 78, 79; Col. MSS., xxii., 1; Smith, i., 33.

CHAP. II.

1665.

²⁵ May.
Stuyvesant
returns to
Holland.

honors had been personally present, they would, "without doubt, have considered it better and more Christian-like to agree to some conditions, than be obliged to look upon the ruin of the place and the murder of the poor people, women and children, without being able to do any thing to prevent it." A few days afterward Stuyvesant appeared, for the last time, in the Court of Burgomasters and Schepens, to take his leave, and asked of them a certificate of his deportment while their governor. The city authorities declared "that his honor hath, during eighteen years' administration, conducted and demeaned himself not only as a director general, as according to the best of our knowledge he ought to do, on all occasions for the best interest of the West India Company, but besides as an honest proprietor and patriot of this province, and as a supporter of the Reformed religion."*

2 Feb'ry.

New city
officers.

6 Feb'ry.

Notwithstanding all the changes which had occurred in the province, the city magistrates of whom Stuyvesant thus took leave still exercised the same powers which he had himself conferred on them twelve years before. When their term of service expired, the burgomasters and schepens named their successors, as they had done under the Dutch government. This they did on the usual day, and in pursuance of the sixteenth article of the capitulation. The new officers were confirmed by Nicolls, and announced to the commonalty after the usual ringing of the bell. They were Cornelis Steenwyck and Oloff Stevensen van Cortlandt, burgomasters; Timotheus Gabry, Johannes van Brugh, Johannes De Peyster, Jacob Kip, and Jacques Cousseau, schepens; and Allard Anthony, schout. An oath, drawn up by Nicolls, was taken by them, to do right and justice to all persons, and demean themselves in their places "according to the good and wholesome laws which are or shall be ordained by virtue of his majesty's commission to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, within this government and city of New York." A controversy soon arose between the provincial and the city authorities.

* Col. Doc., II., 361, 365, 369, 377, 420, 470, 744; iii., 164; Trumbull Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc., xx., 73; Hutch. Mass., I., 231, note; Gen. Ent., I., 168, 169, 170; New Amst. Rec., v., 755; Val. Man., 1861, 620, 621. Stuyvesant, accompanied by Ægidius Luyck, the late principal of the grammar-school at New Amsterdam (who now returned to study theology in Holland), landed from the "Crossed Heart" at Bergen, in Norway. From there they proceeded to Amsterdam, in July, 1665, in the company's yacht the *Musch*.

By the capitulation, the burgomasters were bound to provide quarters for the soldiers who could not be lodged in the fort. Nicolls therefore proposed that one hundred of them should be quartered among the inhabitants, who were to be compensated; and that, in consideration of this, the city should have, in addition to the great excise, the income of the scales and of the ferry. The municipal authorities endeavored to comply with the governor's requisition; but they were so unsuccessful that he accused them, apparently without justice, of sloth. The English soldiers were quarrelsome and insolent, and the Dutch burghers were unwilling to receive them into their houses. Most of the citizens preferred to pay an assessment in money; and the matter was finally arranged in this way, to the satisfaction of all parties, under the supervision of Captains Delavall and Salisbury.*

CHAP. II.

1665.

23 March.
Soldiers
quartered.

6 April.

19 April.

The provincial revenue had, up to this time, been left unsettled. Two months after the surrender, Nicolls had directed that the customs rates, "according to English law," should be paid to Delavall, the collector. He now enacted that, until farther order, imported liquors should be taxed ten per cent., Indian goods ten, other goods eight, and English manufactures five per cent. These duties were to be paid in beavers, at eight guilders, or thirteen shillings and four pence each. Export duties were also laid on beaver and tobacco.†

Provincial
revenue.

27 Febr'y.

Nicolls, however, was a friend of colonial enterprise. Paulus Richards, one of the burghers at New York, intending to establish a vineyard at the "Little Fief" on Long Island, and manufacture wine, the governor granted him several special privileges. All the produce of Richards's vines, if sold in gross, was to be forever free from any imposts; if sold in retail by him in any one house in New York, his wines were to be free for thirty years; and

Vineyards
19 Jan'y.

* N. Y. City Rec., vi., 680, 682, 713-725, 737-743; vi., 86, 87; Gen. Ent., i., 83, 84; Col. Rec., vi., 117; Val. Man., 1848, 125; 1850, 196; 1861, 608-620; *ante*, vol. i., 548, 578, 613, 614, 702. Among the burghers thus assessed, Jeronimus Ebbeinck, Frederick Phillipse, Peter Stuyvesant, Cornelis van Ruyven, Paulus Leendertsen van der Grist, Johannes van Buren, and Oleff Stevensen van Cortlandt paid four guilders a week; Allard Anthony, Johannes de Byster, Jacob Kip, Simon Jansen Romeyn, and Carel van Brugh, three guilders; Hendrick Bont, Evert Duyekinck, Johannes De Witt, Hans Kierstede, Jacob Lender, and Paulus Richards, two guilders; Isaac Bedlow, Augustine Heermans, Ægidius Luyck, and several others, one guilder. The Dutch domines were not assessed.

† Gen. Ent., i., 63, 112, 113; Thompson, i., 144.

CHAP. II. any person who, during that time, should plant vines in
 1665. any part of the province, should pay five shillings for each
 acre so planted to Richards, "as an acknowledgment of
 his being the first undertaker and planter of vines in these
 parts."*

January.
 Royal com-
 missioners
 in New En-
 gland.

Soon after the arrangement of the Connecticut bound-
 ary, Cartwright and Maverick went to Boston to prosecute
 their duties as royal commissioners. But they could do
 nothing without the presence of Nicolls or Carr. The
 governor of New York was too much occupied to leave
 his post. Carr could not be persuaded, for some time, to
 quit the Delaware and follow the king's commission. At
 length he came to New York, and went on to join his col-
 leagues at Boston. The commissioners, finding much op-
 position there, determined to visit the other colonies, and
 wait until the next April before opening their business
 with Massachusetts, when they hoped that Nicolls would
 be able to join them. They were not deceived. Connecti-
 cut answered their inquiries with prudent facility. Their
 stumbling-block was to be Massachusetts.†

4 Feb'y.

Policy of
 Nicolls.

Meanwhile, the details of the system upon which he was
 to administer his government in New York had seriously
 occupied the attention of Nicolls. The policy of the Duke
 of York was to win the Dutch, who were three quarters of
 the population, to become contented English subjects. To
 this end, as little alteration as possible was to be made in
 the form of administration to which they had been accus-
 tomed. The director general and his council had been the
 executive authority in New Netherland. The deputy gov-
 ernor of the proprietary and his council were now the ex-
 ecutive authority of New York. Nicolls accordingly "cop-
 ied," or rather "continued," with some modification, "what
 had been already established by the Dutch." He erected
 a "Court of Assizes," which, like its New Netherland proto-
 type, was the supreme tribunal of the province, having both
 common law and equity, as well as original and appellate

Court of
 Assizes.

* Deeds, ii., 87; Hist. Mag., vii., 30. New Netherland was famous for its native wines
 before 1659: Col. Doc., i., 217. Lord Bellomont, in 1700, wrote enthusiastically about the
 "fair clusters of grapes" which he saw about Albany: Col. Doc., iv., 757. Denton, 14,
 speaks of "grapes great and small" as natural to Long Island.

† Col. Doc., iii., 64, 83, 84, 87-89, 93; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxvi., 532; Mass. Rec., iv. (ii.),
 141; Plymouth Rec., iv., 85; R. I. Rec., ii. 60, 86-89, 91, 93; Palfrey, ii., 597-606; Barry, i.,
 396; Arnold's Rhode Island, i., 314.

jurisdiction. In this court, the governor and his counselors possessed the same powers that had formerly been exercised by the Dutch director and his counselors. But the peculiar condition of New York required that other members should be added to the Court of Assizes. Yorkshire, or Long Island, peopled chiefly by Englishmen, with Westchester and Staten Island, was erected into a shire, and, like its English namesake, was divided into three districts or ridings. What is now Suffolk County formed the East Riding; Staten Island, King's County, and the town of Newtown, in Queen's, the West Riding; and the remainder of Queen's County, with Westchester, the North Riding. The governor and council were to appoint a high-sheriff every year over the whole of Yorkshire, and also justices of the peace, who were to continue in office during the governor's pleasure in each of the ridings. These justices were to hold a "Court of Sessions" in each riding three times a year, in which the governor or any counselor might preside. Besides their local duties, the high sheriff and the justices were to sit with the governor and his council in the Court of Assizes, which was to meet at New York once a year, on the last Thursday in September. This court was invested with "the supreme power of making, altering, and abolishing any laws" in the government of New York.*

CHAP. II.

1665.

Ridings of
Yorkshire.

High-sheriff and justices.

Court of Sessions.

The Court of Assizes not an Assembly.

The Court of Assizes thus established by Nicolls was no advance toward democracy. It was not, in any popular sense, a Legislature. It had not even the representative character enjoyed by Stuyvesant's "Landt-dag," or Assembly. Its members were wholly dependent on the governor's will, and they were expected to perform their legislative function with the usual docility of a French "bed of justice." The governor and his council remained the real law-makers, as well as the interpreters of the laws they made. Before long, it is true, the Court of Assizes deliberated

* Chalmers's *Pol. Ann.*, I, 575, 596; *Rev. Col.*, I, 117; *Col. Doc.*, III, 189; *N. Y. H. S. Coll.*, I, 341, 336, 342, 350, 374, 385, 391; *ante*, vol. I, 163, 247, 276, 277, 327, 405, 414, 431, 467, 549, 548, 570-575, 729. Chalmers, in *Pol. Ann.*, I, 575, says that Nicolls "erected," and in *Rev. Col.*, I, 117, that he "continued," the Court of Assizes, one of "the prior customs of the Dutch." The erroneous statements of Smith, I, 41, 47, on this point, are corrected by Chalmers, *Pol. Ann.*, I, 596, and by Wood, 90, *note*. I can not doubt that the Court of Assizes was established, if it was not completely organized, before March, 1665, the period stated by Wood; compare H. B. Dawson, and *N. Y. H. S. Coll.* (1869), 76.

CHAP. II.

1665.

Purpose of
the Court
of Assizes.

erated with closed doors upon the general concerns of the province, and made such changes in the laws as were thought proper. But the Duke of York, who, by his patent, had "full and absolute power," disapproved of legislative assemblies as inconsistent with the form of government which he had established in his province. Yet he supposed that no harm and much good might result from the justices being allowed once a year to meet with the governor and his council, and make desirable changes in the laws, which, after all, were subject to his own approval. These justices, he complacently assumed, would be chosen by the people themselves as "their representatives, if another constitution were allowed." Moreover, the Court of Assizes was the most convenient place for the publication of any new laws, or of any business of general concern. In establishing that court, the duke's deputy did not concede any political privileges to the people. All its officers were his own subordinates; none of them his colleagues. Nicolls was, and he continued to be, a provincial autocrat, who exercised, indeed, his delegated powers with the prudence and moderation which belonged to his character, but who, in adroitly allowing his official dependents apparently to share with himself the responsibility of legislation, did not in the least curtail his own vast authority.*

Legal effect
of the En-
glish con-
quest.

The governor and his council, who at present were the only members of the Court of Assizes, were early called upon to frame a body of laws for the province. Its condition was more anomalous than that of any other American plantation. It had no charter like the New England colonies. It was not a royal province like Virginia. As a proprietary government, it resembled Maryland in some respects; yet Lord Baltimore's charter was very different from the despotic patent of the Duke of York. When Charles the Second granted New Netherland to his brother, he affected to consider it a resumption of British territory, the possession of which England had never enjoyed, and Holland had maintained for half a century. In reality, he obtained possession only by a conquest from the Dutch, and upon articles of capitulation. Excepting Aca-

* Col. Decr. ii., 296; iii., 220; Chalmers's Ann., i., 581, 600; Court of Assizes, ii., 329, 325, 414; Wood, 29, 91; Thompson, i., 141, 142; 1904, p. 203.

dia and Jamaica, New York was the first colony which the English arms ever gained. The rights which the king thus acquired over the Dutch territory were those of a conqueror, limited, however, by the terms agreed upon at the surrender. This principle did not affect that part of Long Island which was actually British territory before the capitulation, and where, of course, the English law prevailed. But with respect to the Dutch possessions, the right of conquest governed; which was, that where a country was conquered by or ceded to England, the sovereign might establish such government and laws as he should think proper, but that the ancient laws of such conquered or ceded country were to remain in force, if not contrary to the law of God, until the king should change them. Accordingly, Charles authorized the Duke of York "to make, ordain, and establish all manner of orders, laws, directions, instructions, forms and ceremonies of government and magistracy fit and necessary for and concerning the government of the territories and islands aforesaid, so always as the same be not contrary to the laws and statutes of this our realm of England, but as near as may be agreeable thereunto, and the same at all times hereafter to put in execution, or abrogate, revoke, or change, not only within the precincts of the said territories or islands, but also upon the seas in going and coming to and from the same." The duke thereupon commissioned Nicolls as his deputy, "to perform and execute all and every the powers which are by the said letters patent granted." But, before he could obtain peaceable possession of New Netherland, Nicolls was obliged to concede special privileges to its inhabitants, which placed them in many respects upon a better footing than the king's own English subjects on Long Island. Among other things, the Dutch were to enjoy their own church discipline and customs concerning inheritances. Besides these guaranteed rights, they were, as a conquered people, entitled to be governed according to their ancient laws, which were to remain in force until changed by the actual authorities in the province.*

The Duke of York's power to make laws.

* Chalmers's *Fol. Ann.*, i, 574; *Rev. Col.*, i, 116, 117; *Calvin's Case*, 7 *Coke's Rep.*, 17; *Ston. Park. C.*, 31; *Cowper*, 204; *Blackstone's Comm.*; *Jacob*, v., 159; *Col. Doc.*, ii., 296; *Leasing and Spicer*, 666; *ante*, vol. i., p. 762; *post*, App. A and B. I venture, with much deference, to express my opinion that Mr. Barnard, in his sketch of Rensselaerwyck, 156, and

CHAP. II.

1665.

4 Feb.

English
laws to be
establish-
ed.Power of
Nicolls to
make laws.

It was nevertheless generally understood that "English lawes" were to be established in New York at the end of six months after the surrender. In writing from Boston, Cartwright advised Nicolls that the Dutch "will rather take that for oppression which shall be imposed on them afterward, than for the present acknowledge your indulgence in letting them for a while longer use their own lawes." But, if the governor hesitated at following his colleagues' advice with respect to the Dutch portion of the province, he had no doubt in regard to Yorkshire. Before the surrender, in explaining at Gravesend the phrase of the proclamation that all persons submitting to the royal government were to enjoy "all other privileges with his majesty's English subjects," he had promised the people of Long Island that at a convention of delegates from their towns, "laws were to be enacted and civil officers established." A few days afterward, he told them that they should be summoned "to propose and give their advice in all matters tending to the peace and benefit" of the island. Again he assured them "of equal (if not greater) freedoms and immunities than any of his majestie's colonies in New England." These expressions appear to have been differently understood by Nicolls and by the Long Island people. The latter supposed that the New England system was to be transplanted into New York, with all the machinery of royal corporations to perpetuate their benefits or abuses. The governor, on the other hand, was the deputy of a proprietor who centred in himself all the delegated authority of the king possessed by any of the New England oligarchies. It was his function under a royal patent, as it was theirs under royal charters, to make laws. Nicolls, however, was desirous to adopt in New York all that he might find good or expedient in the several codes of the New England colonies. For this purpose he appears to have obtained copies of those of Massachusetts and of New Haven, the latter of which had been printed at London in 1656. He also applied to Winthrop for a copy of that of Connecticut, which existed only in manuscript; but a transcript

Chancellor Walworth, in 17 Wendell, 587, and Mr. Butler in ii. N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 43, have not accurately stated the condition of the law in New York immediately after the surrender. Certainly Long Island was differently situated from the rest of the province.

could not be made for him in time to be of use. With the assistance of members of the Court of Assizes, he made it his "whole business to prepare a body of lawes" to be submitted to the general meeting proposed to be held on Long Island. These laws were largely borrowed from those "in practice in his majesty's other colonies in New England," but with a relaxation of their severity against those who differed "in matters of conscience and religion."*

CHAP. II.

1665.
Code prepared by
Nicolls.

To fulfill his promises, Nicolls addressed a letter to each of the towns on Long Island, announcing that in discharge of his "trust and duty to settle good and known lawes within this government for the future," and receive their "best advice and information in a general meeting," he had appointed such a meeting to be held at Hempstead on the last day of February, to which he invited each town to send two deputies chosen by a majority of the tax-payers. These deputies were to be "the most sober, able, and discreet persons;" and were to produce at the meeting the documents showing the boundaries of their respective towns, notify the Indian sachems whose presence there might be necessary, and bring with them certificates of their due election, "with full powers to conclude any cause or matter relating to their several towns." A similar letter was sent to Westchester. But no deputies were summoned from New York, Esopus, Bergen, or any other town in the province.†

Meeting
called at
Hempstead.

At the appointed day the Convention met at Hempstead. It consisted of thirty-four delegates—two from each of the English and Dutch towns on Long Island, and two from Westchester. Some of them had been members of Stuyvesant's last General Assembly of New Netherland a year before. New Utrecht sent Jacques Cortelyou and Younger Fosse; Gravesend, James Hubbard and John Bowne; Flatlands, Elbert Elbertsen and Roeloff Martense; Flatbush, John Stryker and Hendrick Jorassen; Bushwick, John Stealman and Guisbert Tennis; Brooklyn, Frederick Lubbertsen and John Evertsen; Newtown, Richard Betts and

23 Feb.

Delegates.

* Gen. Ent., i, 23, 29, 66; Dreds, ii, 43; Col. Doc., ii, 251; iii, 86, 88, 114; iv, 1154; Thompson, i, 126, 127, 382; ii, 223, 324, 327; Dunlap, ii, App. xxxvii.; Smith, i, 288; Hist. Misc., viii, 241; Trumbull MSS., xx, 74; ante, p. 25, 33, 43, 57.

† Gen. Ent., i, 93-45; Wood, 87, 88; Thompson, i, 131, 132; Bolton, ii, 180; Jour. Leg. Council of N. Y., i, Int., iv.



CHAP. II. John Coe; Flushing, Elias Doughty and Richard Cornhill; Jamaica, Daniel Denton and Thomas Benedict; Hempstead, 1665. John Hicks and Robert Jackson; Oyster Bay, John Underhill and Matthias Harvey; Huntington, Jonas Wood and John Ketcham; Setalcott (or Brookhaven), Daniel Lane and Roger Barton; Southold, William Wells and John Younge; Southampton, Thomas Topping and John Howell; Easthampton, Thomas Baker and John Stratton; and Westchester, Edward Jessop and John Quinby.*

28 Feb.

Nicolls's
code pro-
posed.

Objected
to.

The governor opened the meeting by reading the duke's patent and his own commission; and told the delegates that their first business should be to decide some of their local differences about boundaries, which were afloat before he came to the government; but that "he had prepared a body of general laws hereafter to be observed." These were delivered to the delegates, who, upon perusal, found them to be chiefly compiled from the laws then in force in New England, "with abatement of the severity against such as differ in matters of conscience and religion." The delegates, however, were not satisfied. Most of them represented towns which had recently been under the jurisdiction of Connecticut; and they supposed that in promising them "equal, if not greater freedoms and immunities than any of his majestie's colonies in New England," Nicolls meant to establish in New York a government resembling those of his Puritan neighbors. The inhabitants of Southold especially had signified their desire that all civil officers should be annually elected by the freemen, that all military officers should be chosen by the soldiers, that no magistrate should have "any yearly maintenance," and that taxes should be levied only by consent of a majority of the deputies at a General Court. But the code prepared by the governor recognized none of these points. The delegates therefore objected against some of its clauses, and proposed others. Several of their amendments were accepted by Nicolls, who moreover promised that when any reasonable alterations should be afterward offered by any town to the

* Gen. Ent. I, 96; Journ. N. Y. Leg. Council, Int., v. It will be observed that the names of several of these towns are different from those which they had borne under the Dutch authority. Flatlands was formerly Amersfoort; Flatbush, Midwout; Bushwick, Boswyck; Brooklyn, Breuckelen; Newtown, Middleburgh or Hastings; Flushing, Vlissingen or Newark; Jamaica, Rustdorp or Craford; and Oyster Bay, Folestone: see *ante*, vol. I, 612, 723, 729.



Sessions, the justices should tender them at the next Assizes, "and receive satisfaction therein." He further declared that "he expected no benefit for his labours out of the purses of the inhabitants," but that it was absolutely necessary to establish a system of county rates to support the public charges. The delegates accordingly "pitched upon the form and rule" then observed in Connecticut, with which most of them were familiar. But when they asked to be allowed, "according to the custom of the other colonies," to choose their own magistrates, Nicolls exhibited his instructions from the Duke of York, "wherein the choice of all the officers of justice was solely to be made by the governor." Upon this point the delegates were pacified by the consideration "that a Parliament of England can neither make a judge nor justice of the peace." To stop further debate, Nicolls told them that they had seen and read his commission and instructions, and that if they would have a greater share in the government than he could allow, they "must go to the king for it." This was decisive. The delegates found that instead of being popular representatives to make laws, they were merely agents to accept those already prepared for them. Nicolls's code, as amended, was now formally promulgated at the "General Meeting." During its session, which lasted ten days, several orders were made respecting the boundaries of some of the towns. The only act which the delegates really performed was to adopt a loyal address to the Duke of York, in which, after acknowledging their dependence, they declared their "cheerful submission to all such laws, statutes, and ordinances which are or shall be made by virtue of authority from" his royal highness; whose rights under the king's patent they would forever maintain, and whom they besought "to accept of this address, as the first-fruits of this General Meeting, for a memorial and record against us, our heirs and successors, when we or any of them shall fail in our duties."*

CHAP. II.
1665.

1 March.
Nicolls's
code promulgated.

1 March.
Address to
the Duke
of York.

The New York code thus promulgated at the Hemp-

* Deeds, ii, 1-15, 43, 48; Col. Dec., iii, 91, 260; N. Y. H. S. Coll., i, 307; ii, (ii.), 32; Journ. Leg. Council of N. Y., i, Int., v.; Thompson, i, 132, 136, 332; ii, 324, 325, 327; Wood, 87, 88, 171-175; Dunlap, ii, App. xxxvi.; Bolton, ii, 180; Smith, i, 41; Chalmers, i, 577, 578, 588. The duke's instructions, which Nicolls exhibited at Hempstead, were not recorded in the New York provincial archives, as was his commission: *ante*, p. 18, note.



CHAP. II. stead meeting is generally known as "THE DUKE'S LAWS."

1665.
"The
Duke's
Laws."

It was arranged in an alphabetical order of subjects, like the New England codes. A very general analysis of its provisions is all that can now be attempted.

The Court of Assizes—as an existing institution—was to meet in the city of New York once a year, on the last Thursday in September. But, in pressing capital cases, the governor and council might issue commissions of Oyer and Terminer. Inferior courts of Sessions, composed of the justices of the peace, and in which any counselor might preside, were to be held three times a year in each riding of Yorkshire. Trials by jurymen, who were not to exceed seven, except in capital cases, were provided for. Arbitrators might be appointed in small causes between neighbors. Whenever the law was silent in any case, the Sessions were to remit it to the next Assizes, where matters of equity were to be decided and punishments awarded "according to the discretion of the bench, and not contrary to the known laws of England."

Each town had a local court for the trial of small causes under five pounds, which was to be held by the constable and six overseers, and from which there was an appeal to the Sessions. Eight "men of good fame and life" were to be chosen as overseers for each town by a majority of the freeholders. Four of these overseers retired at the end of each year, and from them a constable was to be annually chosen, on the first or second of April, by the freeholders, who was to be confirmed by the justices at the next sessions. The constable and overseers had power to make local ordinances in the several towns.

A high-sheriff over Yorkshire was to be annually appointed by the governor from each riding in rotation, and also an under-sheriff or high-constable in each riding. Justices of the peace were to continue in office during the governor's pleasure. But the governor and council might, by special warrant, displace any officer within the government "for neglecting of his office, or other notorious misdemeanor and misbehavior."

Each inhabitant was to contribute to public charges in Church and State according to his estate. Assessments were to be made every year, after the first of June, by the

officers in each town. Provision was made for the enforcement of the rates imposed; and all the plantations within the government were "fully comprehended in this law." CHAP. II.
1665.

The tenure of lands was to be from the Duke of York. All persons were required to bring in their old grants and take out new patents from the governor, upon the sealing of which a fee was to be paid. After the first of March, 1665, no purchase of lands from the Indians was to be valid unless the governor's leave was obtained, and the savage owner acknowledged satisfaction before him, upon which a grant was to be made by the governor and recorded in the secretary's office. All conveyances in the several ridings were also to be recorded in New York. Lands.

No barter with the savages in ammunition, fire-arms, strong liquors, or furs, was allowed without the governor's license. All harm done by the English to them, or their cattle, or corn-lands, was to be promptly and justly satisfied, as fully "as if the case had been betwixt Christian and Christian." But no Indian was to "be suffered to Powow, or perform outward worship to the devil, in any town within this government." Indians.

There was no particular Protestant denomination more favored than any other in the province. The English Episcopal Church was not established. The Reformed Dutch Church, by the articles of capitulation, preserved its ancient ecclesiastical system. But in every parish a church was required to be built, the expense of which, and of the maintenance of its minister, was to be provided for by the church-wardens, appointed yearly by the overseers and constables. No minister was to officiate within the government but such as should produce testimonials to the governor of his having "received ordination, either from some Protestant bishop or minister within some part of his majesty's dominions, or the dominions of any foreign prince of the Reformed religion." Thereupon the governor was to induct such minister "into the parish that shall make presentation of him as duly elected by the major part of the inhabitants householders." Each minister was to preach every Sunday; and on the fifth of November, the anniversary of the gunpowder treason; on the thirtieth of Religion.
Churches.
Ministers.
Sundays and holi-
days.



CHAP. II. January, when King Charles the First was beheaded; and
 1665. on the twenty-ninth of May, when King Charles the Second was born and restored to the throne. He was also to pray for the king, queen, Duke of York, and the royal family, baptize the children of Christian parents, and marry persons "after legal publication or sufficient license." No congregations were to be disturbed during divine service; "nor shall any person be molested, fined, or imprisoned for differing in judgment in matters of religion who profess Christianity."

Freedom
of religion.

Negro
Slavery.

Negro slavery was recognized; but servants were protected from tyranny and abuse. No Christians were to be kept in bond slavery except those sentenced thereto by authority, "or such as willingly have sold or shall sell themselves." All servants were prohibited from trading or trucking "any commodity whatsoever." If servants ran away, justices and constables were authorized to press men, horses, and boats, at the public charge, and bring them back by force.

Militia.

All males above sixteen years old, except certain exempt persons, were subject to military duty. Enrollments, the supply of arms, the appointment of officers, and the punishment of offenders were provided for. In each town there were to be four days of training every year; and in each riding a general training of all the towns once a year. Once in every two years there was to be general training of all the soldiers within the province. No person was obliged to bear arms beyond the limits of the government; but volunteers might be raised by beat of drum to assist the neighboring English colonies. All defensive or vindictive wars against the Indians were to be maintained by a general assessment on each town.

Capital
offenses.

In many respects the duke's capital laws followed those of the New England colonies. Denying the true God, murder, treason, kidnapping, the striking of parents, and some other offenses, were punishable with death. But witchcraft and blasphemy were not included. There were

Other reg-
ulations.

numerous regulations respecting the administration of estates, boundaries of towns, brewers, births and burials, conveyances of lands, surgeons and midwives, children and servants, marriages, laborers, orphans, pipe-staves and casks,



sailors, weights and measures, the destruction of wolves on Long Island, and wrecks and whales. Inn-keepers were not allowed to charge "above eight pence a meal, with small beer," and were always to have a supply of "strong and wholesome" malted liquor. No mares were to be carried out of the government to other plantations without special license. Cattle and horses were to be marked with a letter which distinguished each town on Long Island and Westchester. Every town was to provide a pair of stocks and a pillory; and a pillory was to be erected in each place where the Courts of Sessions were held.

CHAP. II.

1665.

The code was intended to be ultimately the law of the whole province, and several of its provisions went into general operation at once; but many of them were evidently applicable only to Long Island and its neighborhood. The inhabitants of the Valley of the Hudson, most of whom were Dutch, hardly understood the yet strange English tongue. Only by degrees could the institutions which they derived from Holland, and under which they had lived so long, be safely altered. Nicolls, therefore, prudently abstained from enforcing the new code in New York, Esopus, Albany, and Schenectady. From the original manuscript deposited in the office of the Provincial Secretary at Fort James, copies and translations were made for the several towns on Long Island and Westchester. It was not until more than a century after the "Duke's Laws" had become obsolete that they were first printed as historical curiosities.*

Operation
of the code.

Upon the adjournment of the Hempstead meeting, Counsellor William Wells, of Southold, in the East Riding, was commissioned by the governor to be high-sheriff of York-shire. Captain John Underhill, of Oyster Bay, who had been so prominent in the affairs of New Netherland, was appointed high-constable and under-sheriff of the North Riding; and similar appointments were made for the oth-

11 March.
Officers ap-
pointed.

18 March.

* Cf. Doc., III., 164, 183, 220; Chalmers, I., 536; Wood, 88-90; Thompson, I., 138-150; Foster, in N. Y. H. S. Coll., II., 33; Daly's Introduction, 21-25; Dankers's and Sluyter's Journal, 166. The Duke's Laws, copied from the transcript in the Easthampton Town- Clerk's office, deposited there on 24 June, 1665, are printed in the first volume of N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., 365-428, published in 1811. There is a copy in the Secretary of State's office at Albany, approved by the Duke of York, and certified by his secretary, Matthew W. de Witt, which was probably brought over by Governor Lovelace in 1668. A much-needed compilation of all the laws of New York previous to 1661 has been, for several years, promised by Mr. George H. Moore.



CHAP. II. er ridings. Daniel Denton, of Jamaica; John Hicks, of Hempstead; Jonas Wood, of Huntington; and James Hubbard, of Gravesend, were appointed justices. Underhill
 1665.
 22 April. was also made surveyor general of Long Island. All these appointees had been delegates to the Hempstead meeting, and, by thus promptly favoring them, the governor expected to silence their murmurs.*

May.
 Race-
 course at
 Hemp-
 stead.

Nicolls's visit to Hempstead was the immediate cause of the establishment of a race-course on Long Island. To improve the provincial Dutch or Flemish breed, which was better adapted to slow labor than to fleetness or display, the governor directed that a plate should be run for every year. The ground selected for the course was in the town of Hempstead, on a part of the great plain, about sixteen miles long and four broad, which was covered with fine grass like the English downs, and where could be found "neither stick nor stone to hinder the horse heels, or endanger them in their races." For many years this remarkable tract was known as "Salisbury Plains." The race-course itself was named "Newmarket," after the famous English sporting ground, and it long continued to be the favorite annual resort of the governors of New York and the farmers of Long Island.†

6 April.
 Albany
 affairs.

Captain John Manning, the commander of the garrison at Albany, was now commissioned as schout, with instructions similar to those of the schout of New York. Notwithstanding the Duke's Laws, the municipal affairs of Albany continued to be managed as they had been under the Dutch, by commissaries elected by the people, and confirmed by the governor. Excepting some differences between the townspeople and the soldiers there and at Esopus, there was little to disturb their tranquillity.‡

13 April.

Thus occupied in arranging his government, Nicolls had been unable to act as a fourth commissioner to the New England colonies. His colleague, Cartwright—while conceding that the duke's deputy had work enough at New York, where "the bare hearing of impertinences, without

* Deeds, ii., 16, 17, 19, 20; Gen. Ent., i., 115; Dunlap, ii., App. xxxv.; Wood, 150; Thompson, i., 130; ii., 157, 359; Biker's Newtown, 70; Bolton, ii., 170, 180; *ante*, vol. i., 556, 671, 728; N. Y. H. S. Coll. (1869), 76.

† Thompson, i., 271, 272; ii., 63; Dunlap, i., 119; Prime's L. I., 71; Denton's New York (Govan's ed.), 6, 31, 35; Burnaby, in Pinkerton, xiii., 739; Oldmixon, i., 275.

‡ Patents, i., 155; Col. Doc., iii., 94, 117, 143.

the framing of laws, the ordering of the soldiers, the gain-
ing of the Dutch, the governing of the English, the regu-
lating of the trade, and the providing of necessities, is
more than enough to trie one"—urged that the chief busi-
ness of the commissioners was now at Boston, where,
"though they should refuse us all three, having a preju-
dice against us, you, whom they respect and honor, might
be prevalent with them, because acceptable to them."
Finding that his presence was indispensable at Boston,
Nicolls appointed Captain Robert Needham to command
in New York during his absence. As the new code had
just gone into operation, Captain Topping, High-sheriff
Wells, and Secretary Nicolls, all members of the Court of
Assizes, were appointed to sit with the justices of the East,
North, and West Ridings of Yorkshire at their approaching
sessions, and explain the laws to them.*

CHAP. II.

1665.

20 April.
Nicolls at
Boston.

21 April.

The visit of Nicolls to Boston was unavailing. Massa-
chusetts, "presumptuous and refractory," repelled the royal
commissioners, who "could obtain nothing that might be
satisfactory to his majesty's desires." Finding that their
time and labor were lost upon men "misled by the spirit
of independency," Carr, Cartwright, and Maverick went
eastward to Maine, and Nicolls hastened back to New York,
at any rate with a better reputation for prudence and dis-
cretion than was accorded to either of his colleagues.†

The royal
commis-
sioners re-
pelled.

26 May.

The first care of the governor, after his return, was, in
obedience to the duke's instruction, to make the city gov-
ernment, which had remained unaltered for nearly ten
months since the capitulation, "conformable to the custom
of England." To do this in the most conciliatory manner,
he selected, as the first mayor of New York, Captain Thomas
Willett, of Plymouth, who, while he was an Englishman,
was highly esteemed by the Dutch. He had been one of
Stuyvesant's negotiators at Hartford in 1650, and had acted
with discreet friendship at the surrender. So much did his
prudence on the Albany expedition impress Cartwright, that
he wrote to Nicolls from Boston, "I believe him both a

City gov-
ernment of
New York
changed.

4 Feb.

* Deeds, ii., 23, 24; Gen. Ent., i., 116-119; Dunlap, ii., App. xxxvi.; Col. Doc., iii., 93, 94; Val. Man., 1861, 613; N. Y. H. S. Coll. (1869), 75.

† Col. Doc., iii., 95-103; Mass. Rec., iv. (ii.), 141, 143, 177-215; Hutch. Mass., i., 224-259; Coll., 417-422; Chalmers's Ann., i., 388, 389, 502-504; Rev. Col., i., 114; Bancroft, ii., 84-85; Barry, i., 393-400; Palfrey, ii., 607-618; Williamson, i., 411.

CHAP. II.

1665.

very honest and an able gentleman, and that he will serve you both for a mayor and a counsellor." At Nicolls's request, Carr, while on his way to Boston, visited Willett at Rehoboth, and obtained for him from Governor Prence leave of absence from Plymouth, to assist in remodeling the city government in New York, as he was "more acquainted with the manners and customs of the Dutch than any Englishman in the country, and his conversation was very acceptable to them." No better choice could have been made.*

12 June.

Nicolls, by a proclamation, now revoked "the form and ceremony of government of this his majesty's town of New York, under the name of Schout, Burgomasters, and Schepens," and declared that its future government should be administered by persons who should be known by "the name and style of Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriff, according to the custom of England in other his majesty's corporations."† By a separate instrument of the same date, he

Mayor,
aldermen,
and sheriff.

12 June.

ordained that "the inhabitants of New York, New Harlem, with all other his majesty's subjects, inhabitants upon this island commonly called and known by the name of the Manhattan's Island, are and shall be forever accounted, nominated, and established as one body politic and corporate, under the government of a mayor, aldermen, and sheriff;" and he appointed Thomas Willett to be mayor; Thomas Delavall, Oloff Stevensen van Cortlandt, Johannes van Brugh, Cornelis van Ruyven, and John Lawrence, to be aldermen, and Allard Anthony to be sheriff. These officers were to hold their places for a year, and any four of them, of whom the mayor or his deputy was always to be one, were to have full authority to govern the city according to the general laws, "and such peculiar laws as are or shall be thought convenient and necessary." Of the new corporate

Willett
mayor.

* Col. Doc., III., 63, 87, 94; Morton's Memorial, 251, 304, 311; Mass. H. S. Coll., xiv., 160, 293; xxvii., 532; Arnold's Rhode Island, i., 314; Deane's Bradford's Plymouth, 260; Savage's Winthrop, i., 322; Palfrey, i., 163; Thompson, i., 130; Val. Man., 1853, 379, 380; *ante*, vol. i., 519, 525, 589, 736, 742. After serving as mayor of New York in 1665 and 1667, Willett remained there acting as a counselor until the Dutch conquest, when he returned to his farm at Rehoboth, in Seekonk, Bristol county, Massachusetts, where he died on the 4th of August, 1674. A rough stone with an inscription still marks the place of his burial. His son Thomas remained in New York, where he became prominent; and his great-great-grandson, Colonel Marinus Willett, was mayor of the city in 1807.—Munsell, iv., 22; Col. Doc., II., 617, 647; Val. Man., 1861, 553; Val. Hist. City of N. Y., 246, 247.

† Ogilby, in *his American*, 169, remarks that in New England the only municipal officer retaining his Old-country name was "constable."



authorities three were Englishmen—Willett, Delavall, and Lawrence; and four were Hollanders—Van Cortlandt, Van Brugh, Van Ruyven, and Anthony. The latter had been prominent in the late government, and eminently represented the Dutch element; while Anthony, the old schout, only assumed a new title when he became sheriff.

CHAP. II.

1665.

Nevertheless there was much dissatisfaction shown when the governor appeared in the Court of Burgomasters and Schepens to install the new officers. Burgomaster Van Cortlandt, who had been selected to be alderman, objected that the new charter violated the sixteenth article of the capitulation; but Nicolls quietly showed him that the old officers had been continued, and new ones elected in February, who had been retained until now. Yet "divers debates occurred," because the magistrates wished the Dutch system to be retained, under which they nominated their own successors, while under that established by the English governor they were to be chosen by himself without any restraint. Nicolls, however, told them that he had received letters from the Duke of York "to make the government of this city conformable to the custom of England," and that, while he acknowledged the good conduct of the former magistrates, he had qualified some Englishmen for office, "on purpose that parties may be better aided on both sides, as well English as Dutch, who go to law, and the better to strengthen the peace and quiet of the inhabitants of this place." The new magistrates were then sworn and installed, and were proclaimed to the commonalty after "the customary ringing of the bell three times."

14 June.
The Dutch
dissatis-
fied.

The new
city officers
installed.

Thus were inaugurated the first mayor and aldermen of the city of New York. The new court was organized the next day, and Johannes Nevius was retained as secretary, assisted by Nicholas Bayard to translate his Dutch minutes. Soon afterward Nevius resigned, and Bayard was appointed secretary in his place. Little change was made in the mode of judicial proceedings, except the substitution of the English tongue for the Dutch. Jury trials, as provided for in the code, were ordered to be held on the first Tuesday of each month. But suitors generally preferred to have their causes disposed of in the summary manner to which they had been accustomed; and many forms peculiar to

Mayor's
Court.

15 June.

18 July.



CHAP. II. the Dutch jurisprudence continued for half a century to be recognized in "The Mayor's Court of the City of New York."^{*}

1665. Meanwhile important events had happened in Europe.

1664. The States General represented to the King of France the wrong which the King of England had done them in capturing New Netherland, and asked for the aid guaranteed by the treaty of 1662. This appeal embarrassed Louis, whom Charles had tried to persuade that he was the aggrieved instead of the aggressor. D'Estrades, writing from the Hague, urged his sovereign "to prefer England to the States," because he could thereby "procure the restitution of Acadia from Penobscot to Cape Breton, being eighty leagues of coast, where there are fine harbors, and oblige the King of England, by the same treaty, to declare war against the Iroquois, whom the Hollanders, who have their plantations adjoining, have always assisted with arms and munitions against us. By this means your majesty would free Canada from the only enemies which she has in that country; and by attacking them on the Canada side, and on that which the English occupy, they would all be destroyed in a year." Finding that the designs of Louis on the Spanish Netherlands controlled his action, the States General informed him that they were ready to adjust their differences with King Charles, by restoring every thing they had taken from him, if he would "bind himself to restore New Netherland," and other prizes.[†]

1664. In reply to the Dutch statements, Downing insisted that New Netherland was within the New England patent; that the treaty of 1654 had not cut off the English claim; and even if it did, that the New England colonies had "*jura belli* within themselves, without appealing first into Europe." A committee of the States General soon published a "demolition" of Downing's memorial. "The English," it was conclusively argued, "have no other title to the pos-

^{*} Gen. Ent., i., 120-124; N. Y. City Rec., v., 780-784; vi., 3, 47; Col. Doc., ii., 373, 497, 445, 473; Doc. Hist., i., 289, 290; Val. Man., 1852, 281, 583, 389, 391, 3, 5, 473, 476, 492; 1853, 289, 383, 589; 1860, 601, 602, 608; Thompson, ii., 363; Daly's Introductory Sketch, 14, 25, 26; Hoffman's Treatise, i., 19; ii., 3-5; *ante*, vol. i., 388, 410, 548, 640, 689, 703, 720, 728, 738.

[†] Col. Doc., ii., 286-291, 305, 306; De Witt, ii., 2, 4, 14-17; D'Estrades, ii., 559, 555-561, 567, 568, 570, 575-577; iii., 5, 10, 11, 13; Rapin, ii., 639; Aitzema, v., 93, 288-294; Lister's Clarendon, iii., 392; Baerage, i., 718, 719, 737; Martin, i., 269; *ante*, vol. i., 586.



session of what they hold, namely, New England, than those of this nation have to New Netherland, to wit, the right of occupation; because all those countries being desert, uninhabited, and waste, as if belonging to nobody, became the property of those who have been the first occupants of them. It is thus the English have occupied, and this is the title by which they possess New England, as those of this nation New Netherland. The right which the English found on the letters patent wherein their king grants such a vast extent to the limits of the English, so as to include also all the possessions of this nation, is as ridiculous as if your high mightinesses bethought yourselves of including all New England in the patent you would grant to the West India Company; therefore a continued possession for such a long series of years must confer on this nation a title which can not be questioned with any appearance of reason.”*

CHAP. II.
1665.
The States defend their right.

Affairs now approached a crisis. The West India Company was authorized “to attack, conquer, and ruin the English every where, both in and out of Europe, on land and water.” The East India Company equipped twenty ships. The herring and whale fisheries were suspended, in order to man the war vessels of the nation. Fourteen millions of guilders were voted for the fleet and the fortifications. The Dutch, who lived by commerce, resolved that they must fight to deliver themselves from the English yoke; and all the cities broke out in cries of joy at the hope of triumph. As De Ruyter was far away in the West Indies, Wassenaar of Opdam was made admiral, with the younger Tromp and other renowned commanders under him.†

6 Febr'y.
The Dutch equip a fleet.

The English Parliament granted two millions and a half of pounds sterling; and Holmes was sent to the Tower, so that if the Dutch should be successful, he might be made a sacrifice, as Sir Walter Raleigh was.” The Duke of York prepared to take command of the fleet. At length the king, without the concurrence of Clarendon or Southampton, issued a declaration of war, full of bitterness against the Dutch.‡

English preparations.
22 Febr'y.
4 March.
War declared.

* 4 Dec. ii., 298-304, 307-331; Aitzema, v., 256-268.
† 4 Dec. ii., 306, 307; D'Elstrades, iii., 32, 42, 63; Aitzema, v., 413-443; Basnage, l., 100-101; Kennett, iii., 23-24; Pepys, ii., 205; Lister, iii., 361.
‡ 4 Dec. ii., 187, 196, 199, 215; Kennett, iii., 252; Lister, ii., 271-276; Aitzema, v., 268.



CHAP. II.

1665.

28 Jan'y.

7 Feb'y.
Orders to
the colo-
nies.

11 Feb'y.

23 Febr'y.

22 June.
Action of
Nicolls.

24 June.

30 June.

23 June.

Feeling in
New York.

Charles also wrote to Nicolls and his colleagues, informing them of De Ruyter's expedition, and enjoining them "to use all possible diligence for their security." They were, moreover, directed to observe all orders from the Duke of York, whom the king had authorized to grant letters of marque against Dutch ships, and condemn them in Admiralty. Clarendon likewise warned Nicolls that he "must expect all the mischief the Dutch can do him." The Duke of York directed that his province should be put "into a posture of defense against the Dutch." He also appointed Nicolls and Captain Philip Carteret sub-commissioners in Admiralty, to dispose of all prizes in any of the ports or harbors of New England.*

These dispatches were brought by Carteret to Virginia, and forwarded thence to New York. As soon as he received them, Nicolls issued a proclamation for the confiscation of the West India Company's estate, which had already been attached. Letters were also sent to the several New England governments inclosing copies of the king's orders, and instructing them how to treat Dutch prizes in any of their ports. The inhabitants of Long Island were especially warned to be ready against Dutch invasion. The commonalty of New York were called together to consult about fortifying the city on the river side. The governor offered to contribute palisades and wampum, and promised "not to constrain any inhabitant to fight against his own nation." Steenwyck, the deposed burgomaster, declared that he would always be a faithful subject. But the burghers generally were not zealous to prepare defenses against an expedition which might restore the authority of their fatherland. "Some of the people answering said that the town was sufficient enough; others that they could not work before they had their arms restored to them again; and many other excuses; but no categorical answer was given."†

Barnage, i, 706; Lingard, xii., 170; Davies, iii., 30; Rapin, ii., 638, 639; Parl. Hist., iv., 303-309. There is an interesting account of the origin of this war in Temple's Works, i., 307-310.

* Col. Dec., iii., 85, 86, 92, 104; Val. Man., 1847, 353; N. Y. Surrogate's Rec. Wills, i., 9.

† Col. Dec., iii., 67, 92, 103; N. Y. City Rec., vi., 19, 29; Col. MSS., xxii., 1; Val. Man., 1852, 450, 484; 1853, 581; Gen. Enn., i., 76, 125-132; Ord. Warr. and Lett., ii., 2; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 21; Mass. H. S. Col., xxx., 52; Trumbull, i., 278; Thompson, i., 149; Smith, i., 28, 41. De Ruyter was actually on his way from the West Indies to Newfoundland in May, 1665. If he had visited New York, as he intended, he would easily have reconquered the prov-



The condition of the metropolis was told in a letter from Nicolls to Lord Arlington: "We have had no ship or the least supplies directly out of England since the surrender, which hath brought the soldiers and planters into very great wants of meane necessities, though I will still have hopes that a place of this importance will fall into due consideration with his majesty and royal highness." The colonies had less cause to apprehend De Ruyter than the privateers, "and this place doth not apprehend either or both; for we have no ships to lose, no goods to plunder, but a ragged sort of a fort, put into the best posture of defence possible, well fitted with cannon, no want of ammunition for the present, and as many soldiers as will not lose his majestie's interest but with their own lives." Fort James, indeed, with its low ramparts, greatly needed strengthening. But Cartwright thought that it could not be kept "two hours by having its walls raised higher," and advised that "a battery upon the point would be of greater advantage, and more considerable than the fort itself, if ever the town be fortified."*

CHAP. II.

1665.

31 July.
Condition
of the
metropolis.

While Nicolls was thus securing his government, annoying orders came to him from England. The Duke of York had dismembered his province, and had laid the foundation of another American state. James was fond of naval affairs, and a degree of intimacy existed between him and his assistants in the Admiralty Board. One of them, John, Lord Berkeley of Stratton, a brother of the Governor of Virginia, had been the duke's own governor in his youth, and afterward was made treasurer of his household. At the request of James, the king, two years before his restoration, had raised Berkeley to the peerage. Berkeley was a "bold and insolent" man, weak, popishly inclined, "not incorrupt," and very arbitrary. The Treasurer of the Admiralty, Sir George Carteret, "the most passionate man in the world," had been Governor of the Channel Island of Jersey, where he received Charles while Prince of Wales, and which he afterward gallantly defended against Crom-

Berkeley.

Carteret.

See. But, being short of provisions, he was obliged to hasten homeward. See Aitzema, v., 479, 477; Le Clerc, iii., 79, 80; Basnage, i., 741, 745; Davies, iii., 33; Kennett, iii., 253, 257; Col. Doc., ii., 289, 422; Mass. Rec., iv. (ii.), 154, 276, 289; N.Y. H. S. Coll. (1569), 74, 75.
* Col. Doc., iii., 87, 101, 103; Val. Man., 1859, 548-552, and the map of 1661 appended, showing the situation of the fort.



CHAP. II.

1665.

well's forces. At the Restoration, Carteret rode with the king triumphantly into London, and was made chamberlain of his household. Both Berkeley and Carteret were members of the Council for Plantations, and in the spring of 1663 had, with Clarendon, Albemarle, Ashley, and other courtiers, obtained a grant of Carolina.*

The two royal favorites early prevailed on the Duke of York to convey to them a part of his splendid American domain. They seem to have been prompted by Captain John Scott, "who was born to work mischief, as far as he is credited or his parts serve him." Disappointed in his own aim to get a part of New Netherland, and well knowing its geography, which the duke did not, Scott contrived to make Berkeley and Carteret the instruments of his malice by inducing them to procure from its proprietor the cession of one of the most valuable parts of his province.

1664.

23 June.
24 June.
The duke
conveys a
part of New
York to
Berkeley
and Carteret.

James, not yet in possession, was easily cajoled. Nicolls's expedition was yet on the Atlantic, when the duke, by deeds of lease and release, in consideration of "a competent sum of money," conveyed to Berkeley and Carteret, and their heirs and assigns, the portion of his territory which he described as "that tract of land adjacent to New England, and lying and being to the westward of Long Island and Manhitas Island, and bounded on the east, part by the main sea and part by Hudson's River, and hath upon the west Delaware Bay or River, and extendeth southward to the main ocean as far as Cape May, at the mouth of Delaware Bay, and to the northward as far as the northernmost branch of the said Bay or River of Delaware, which is forty-one degrees and forty minutes of latitude, and crosseth over thence in a strait line to Hudson's River in forty-one degrees of latitude." In memory of Carteret's gallant defense of the island of Jersey, this "tract of land" was "hereafter to be called by the name or names of New Casarea or New Jersey." Thus the name of New Jersey was given in London to a part of New Netherland before it had been conquered from the Dutch.

Called
"New Jersey."

The Duke of York's release of New Jersey was in the

* Pepys, i., 51, 88; ii., 271; Clarke's James II., i., 54; Burnet's Hist., i., 267, 618, 619; Chainers, i., 517; Lister's Clarendon, i., 296, 307, 341, 368, 372; iii., 7, 419; Whitehead's East Jersey, 30, 31; Col. Doc., ii., 410, 599; Collins's Peerage, iv., 167, 212.



ordinary form of conveyances of land. It merely confirmed to his grantees a part of his province, which he described as "that tract of land" between the Hudson and the Delaware, and the "royalties" and "hereditaments" belonging to the same, with their "appurtenances." This land and its appurtenances was conveyed "in as full and ample manner as the same is granted to the said Duke of York" in his patent from the king. By that patent the king granted New Netherland to his brother in free and common socage, subject to the yearly rent of forty beaver-skins. In the same "full and ample manner" James now released to Berkeley and Carteret a "tract" of this territory, subject to the rent of twenty nobles a year. This was the legal scope of the instrument, which, in words usual in deeds of real estate, conveyed a tract of land and its appurtenances to Berkeley and Carteret as amply as the same had been granted to the Duke of York by the king; namely, in socage, subject to an annual rent. The king, however, besides his gift of territory, had intrusted to his brother and his assigns "full and absolute" authority to govern all English subjects inhabiting within the same. This jurisdiction the duke did not convey. Nevertheless, as he did not reserve it, his grantees assumed that he had transferred to them "every right, every royalty, and all the powers of government which he himself possessed." It was not until many years afterward that this interesting question was settled.*

CHAP. II.

1664.

Effect of the Duke of York's conveyance.

Powers of government not conveyed.

As soon as news of the reduction of New Netherland reached England, Berkeley and Carteret hastened to avail themselves of their grant, by procuring from James a letter to Nicolls, "signifying the same to him, and requiring him and all others therein concerned to yield their best assistance in the quiet possession and enjoyment of the premises to all such persons as my said grantees should at any time appoint and authorize to negotiate their affairs in those parts." Soon afterward they signed and published an instrument which, under the title of "The Concessions and Agreement of the Lords Proprietors of the Province of

28 Novem.
The duke's letter to Nicolls.

1665.

10 Febr'y.
New Jersey
"Concessions and Agreement of the Lords Proprietors of the Province of New Jersey."

* C. L. Doe, ii., 243; iii., 46, 48, 105, 220, 240, 285; Pepys, ii., 103; Learning and Spicer, i., 11; S. Smith's New Jersey, 60, 61, 567-570; Gordon, 20, 22, 24, 42, 43; Chalmers, i., 613, 614, 624, 625; Grahame, i., 462, 463; Bancroft, ii., 315; Whitehead, 31, 32; ante, vol. i., 725, 726; ii., 14, 21.



CHAP. II. New Casarea or New Jersey," formed its liberal constitution. At the same time, Captain Philip Carteret, a cousin of Sir George, was commissioned as governor, and received his instructions from the Proprietors.*

1665.
Philip Carteret gov-
ernor.

Carteret in
Virginia.
13 June.

22 June.

With about thirty emigrants, several of whom were Frenchmen skilled in making salt—which was apparently intended to be the staple of New Jersey—Carteret sailed for New York in the ship *Philip*, belonging to Sir George. The vessel was driven into the Chesapeake, and anchored at Newport News. From there Carteret transmitted to Nicolls some of the dispatches intrusted to his care. He also forwarded several letters to Captain James Bollen, the commissary at Fort James, among which was one from Berkeley and Carteret, containing a copy of the duke's grant of New Jersey. As soon as he received them, Bollen showed these interesting documents to his chief.†

Surprise of
Nicolls.

8 April.

This was the first intimation to Nicolls of the dismemberment of his government of New York. The duke's own dispatch to him had not yet been delivered by Carteret; but he could not doubt the news which Bollen communicated. His surprise was grievous. For ten months he had exercised dominion, as the deputy of James, over ancient New Netherland. Only a few weeks before, he had confirmed to Goulding, Bowne, and others, from Long Island, the lands between Sandy Hook and the mouth of the Raritan, upon which the towns of Middletown and Shrewsbury were afterward settled. He had looked upon "Albania," within which three new towns were already begun, as the most "improveable part" of the province of New York. And now the mortified governor was warned to give up

* Elizabethtown Bill in Chancery (1747), 12-16, 25; Learning and Spicer, 12-31; Smith's N. J., 512-521; Collins's Peerage, iv., 208; Whitehead's East Jersey, 32-36; Gordon, 24-27; Bancroft, ii., 315-316; Chalmers's Ann., i., 614, 615; N. J. H. S. Proc., i. (II.), 23, 30, 31; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxvii., 319. The New Jersey "Concessions," among other things, provided that the inhabitants should every year elect representatives to a General Assembly, and that there was to be imposed no "tax, custom, subsidy, tallage, assessment, or any other duty whatsoever, upon any colour or pretence, upon the said province and inhabitants thereof, other than what shall be imposed by the authority and consent of the said General Assembly, and then only in manner as aforesaid." These memorable words—which were borrowed from the Petition of Right assented to by Charles the First in 1628, and recognized by him in his charter of Maryland in 1632—were adopted by the Assembly of New York in 1683 and 1691, and by that of Massachusetts in 1692. See Chalmers, i., 204, 205; Rapin, ii., 270, 271; Kennett, iii., 42; Lingard, ix., 317-321; Gordon's American Revolution, i., 47, 66, 97, 99.

† Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 49-53; Elizabethtown Bill in Chancery, 28; Smith's New Jersey, 67; Whitehead's East Jersey, 36; Col. Doc., ii., 470; iii., 103, 105; Rhode Island Rec., ii., 89.



that desirable region. Thenceforth "New Jersey" was to take the place of "Albania" on the map of America. Too good an officer to disobey, Nicolls could not refrain from a manly remonstrance against his master's improvident grant, "to the utter discouragement" of any that might desire to live under his protection. "For my boldness," he added, "I can at last but beg pardon. Neither can I suppose that my Lord Berkeley or Sir George Carteret knew how prejudicial such a grant would prove to your royal highness; but I must charge it upon Captain Scott, who was born to work mischief as far as he is credited or his parts serve him."* Hoping that he might yet induce the duke and his grantees to make other arrangements, Nicolls urged that the latter should give up New Jersey, and receive "a better and a more entire tract of land, worthy of great consideration to my Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, which is that part of Delaware River which is reduced from the Dutch, if it is not already disposed; if so, then that my Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret may have a hundred thousand acres all along the sea-coast, which is a most noble tract of land, but it will cost them twenty thousand pounds before it will yield a penny, and their children's children may reap the profit."†

CHAP. II.
1665.
July.
Nicolls re-
monstrates
to the
duke.

This letter may have caused the duke to repent his precipitate grant; but it reached him too late. Toward the end of July, Carteret arrived at New York. After exhibiting his authority to Nicolls—with whom he had been joined as a sub-commissioner in Admiralty—he received from him, according to the duke's orders, quiet possession of New Jersey, whither he proceeded with his ship. Early in August, Philip Carteret landed at the head of his followers, carrying a hoe on his shoulder, "thereby intimating his intention of becoming a planter with them." He chose for the seat of his government a spot on the north bank of

29 July.
Carteret at
New York.

August.
Carteret
lands in
New Jer-
sey.

* Nicolls, on his return to London in 1668, told the king, the queen, and the duke enough about Scott to make the latter "forsake Whitehall;" see Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxvii., 315, 316.

† Col. MSS., xxiv., 1; Hist. Mag., ii., 293; Leaming and Spicer, 661-663; Smith's N. J., 62-67; Whitehead, 39, 49, 57, 180; N. J. H. S. Proc., i., 165; Col. Doc., iii., 105, 174. Chittenden, i., 614, 615, 624, 625, erroneously states the date of this letter of Nicolls—of which only a fragment exists in the State Paper Office—as November, 1655. It was evidently written before Carteret arrived at New York from Virginia (on 29 July, Col. Doc., iii., 105), and about ten days after Bollen showed the governor the letter he had received from the proprietaries of New Jersey, which was on the 20th or 22d of June (Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 52; Col. Doc., iii., 165; N. Y. H. S. Coll. (1863), 74. Its date, therefore, must have been about the beginning of July, 1665.



CHAP. II. "the Kills," where four families had already been settled
 1665. under the authority of Nicolls, but which, in compliment
 to Sir George's wife, he named "Elizabethtown." Captain
 James Bollen, who seems to have been a favorite of the
 proprietaries, was soon afterward appointed secretary of
 New Jersey; the annals of which, from this time forward,
 assume a distinct place in American history.*

The Dela-
 ware terri-
 tory.

20 June.

The Delaware territory, which Nicolls had proposed
 should be taken by Berkeley and Carteret in exchange for
 New Jersey, had meanwhile been governed as an append-
 age to New York, but without any special orders from En-
 gland. In consideration of the good service of Captain
 John Carr, its commander, a grant was made to him of the
 confiscated estate of the former Schout Van Sweringen,
 who emigrated to Maryland. Hinoyossa having also gone
 there, his property was given to Sir Robert Carr, and Al-
 ricks's to Ensign Arthur Stock. But the trade of the place
 languished for want of supplies; and Nicolls besought Ar-
 lington to send him orders at once, as the garrison there
 was now maintained at his own private cost.†

Pemaquid.

26 June.

August.
 Cart-
 wright.

After their failure at Boston, the three royal commis-
 sioners visited the other New England colonies, leaving
 Nicolls at New York "to attend De Ruyter's attempt."
 At their colleague's request, they organized a government
 within the duke's territory of Pemaquid, the few colonists
 of which, chiefly fishermen, appeared to be "the worst of
 men." Cartwright, weary of his unprofitable labors, and
 suffering from the gout, now determined to return to En-
 gland. The command of his company of foot at New
 York was accordingly assigned by Nicolls to Captain Rob-
 ert Needham. With full dispatches prepared by the com-
 missioners, Cartwright sailed from Boston, intending to ex-
 plain in person to the home government the condition of
 affairs in New England; but he was captured at sea by a
 Dutch privateer, who took all his papers and carried him
 to Spain. Massachusetts was well pleased at the mishap
 which delayed injurious reports from reaching the king.
 Carr and Maverick, however, before returning to New

* Col. Doc., II., 607; III., 103; Smith's N. J., 67; Whitehead, 36, 84, 85; Val. Man., 1852, 453, 492, 495; Elizabethtown Bill in Chancery, p. 28; ante, p. 49.

† Col. Doc., III., 82, 109, 169, 113, 115, 346; Patents, I., 15; S. Hazard's Reg. Penn., iv., 74; Ann., 369; Davis's "Day Star," 79.



York, wrote to the secretary of state, inclosing fresh documents, among which was a "narrative" of the condition of the several New England colonies. Strong prejudice was shown against Massachusetts, where some dared to say, "Who knows what the event of this Dutch war will be?" Carr also urged Secretary Morrice and Lord Lauderdale to have Delaware, Rhode Island, and all the territory as far west as the Connecticut River annexed to the Narraganset country or the "King's Province," and then make him governor over the whole, where he promised to serve his majesty "as faithfully as any he shall set over them."*

CHAP. II.

1665.

29 Novem.
Feeling in
New Eng-
land.

5 Decem.

The war with the Dutch obliged Nicolls to erect a prize court at New York. He accordingly appointed Captains Needham, Willett, and Topping, with Secretary Nicolls and Alderman Lawrence, to be Commissioners of Admiralty for the province, and R. Charlton to be clerk of the court. The organization of this tribunal was, however, several times altered; and the Mayor's Court of New York frequently acted as a Court of Admiralty.†

23 August.
Admiralty
Court in
New York.

Fresh troubles had meanwhile broken out between the Mohawks and Mahicans, and some of the Dutch near Albany were killed. Two of the savages were arrested and imprisoned for the murder. Willett, the new mayor of New York, was sent thither to advise; and, on his return, the Albany magistrates were directed to hang one of the Indians, and send the other in chains to Fort James.

Winthrop was also asked to aid in making peace between the Mahicans and the Mohawks. Having taken precau-

tions for the safety of New York during his absence, Nicolls went up to Albany. Manning, who was needed at

Nicolls via
its Albany.
23 August.

Fort James, was relieved; and the command of Fort Albany, with its nine cannon, and its garrison of sixty men, was given to Captain John Baker, who was commissioned to be "chief military officer" of the place. Baker was instructed to keep constant guard and good discipline, and to avoid all disputes with the inhabitants, with whom he

25 Septem.
Baker
made com-
mission for at
Albany.

* Col. Doc., iii., 101-113, 160; Patents, i., 156; Morton's Mem., 315, note; Hutch., i., 250; Cell., 412-425; Chalmers, i., 277, 296, 289, 483, 504; Maine H. S. Coll., i., 110-116; v., 232, 233; Williamson, i., 415-425; Rhode Island Rec., ii., 93-95, 102, 110-114, 118, 127, 132-138, 157, 257; Mass. H. S. Proc., 1858-1860, 274; Palfrey, ii., 619-624.

† Court of Assizes, ii., 345, 346; N. Y. Surrogate's Rec. Wills, i., 5-10, 35-47; Val. Man., 1847, 254, 258, 262-267; Col. Doc., ii., 296, 297; iii., 67, 239, 260, 268; Daly's Sketch, 20, 74; Post, notes A and B. Nicolls's Admiralty power in New York came from the duke.



CHAP. II. was to live "as brothers together." In capital cases or
 1665. treaties with the Indians he was to sit in the fort, with the
 schout and commissioners of Albany; but he was to have
 no concern with the ordinary civil courts. He was also to
 act as deputy collector, and send the entries of goods by
 each sloop to Van Ruyven, the collector at New York.

12 October. John Shutte, one of Baker's soldiers, was also licensed to
 be the "only English school-master at Albany," upon con-
 dition that he should not "demand any more wages from
 each scholar than is given by the Dutch to their Dutch
 school-masters."*

Nicolls at Esopus. Nicolls also visited Esopus, where troubles had occurred
 during the previous winter between the soldiers and the
 townsmen. Beekman and the other officers of Wildwyck

14 Septem. were continued, and Chambers was appointed captain of
 the local militia company. As it was necessary that the
 commander of the regular soldiers who formed the garri-
 son should have general military authority, Captain Daniel

14 Septem. Brodhead was commissioned to be "chief officer of the
 Brodhead command- militia in the Esopes," and all inferior officers and soldiers
 er at Esopus. were required to obey him as such. Like Baker at Al-
 bany, Brodhead was instructed to keep constant guard,

23 October. cause the village authorities to be respected, and prevent
 his soldiers from abusing the Indians or quarreling with
 the burghers. In general, he was to use his best discretion,
 but to "avoid harshness of words and heat of passion on
 all occasions; seeking rather to reconcile differences than
 to be head of a party. Preserve yourself," said the pru-
 dent governor, "single and indifferent as to justice between
 soldiers and burghers. Give not too easy an ear to private
 Nicolls's instruc- whisperers and insinulators, which may overrule your judg-
 tions to Brodhead. ment and beget a prejudice in your mind against the Dutch.
 For, though I am not apt to believe they have a natural af-
 fection to the English, yet, without ill usage, I do not find
 them so malicious as some will seek to persuade you they
 are."†

One of Nicolls's chief objects in his visit to Esopus was

* Patents, i., 20, 155, 157, 178, 161-164; Orders, Warrants, etc., ii., 3-5, 9, 17, 229; Col. Doc., iii., 194, 117, 119, 143; Chalmers, i., 576; Mansell's Ann. Alb., iii., 327; iv., 16; vii., 98-101; Val. Man., 1847, 354, 356, 357; 1852, 484, 490; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 54, 55; MSS. Trumbull Papers, xxii., 74; ante, vol. i., 530, 532, 535, 733.

† Patents, i., 158, 159, 167-169; Col. Doc., iii., 94; Esopus Records; Ulster H. S. Coll., i., 49, 52-54, 93.



to purchase from the savages fresh lands on which to settle colonists. This was the more important since the separation of New Jersey from his government. A treaty was accordingly executed at Fort James between Nicolls and the Esopus sachems, by which a large tract of land to the west and southwest of the "Kahanksen" Creek, in the present towns of Rochester and Wawarsing, was conveyed to the Duke of York. All past injuries were buried on both sides, and the sachems engaged "to come once every year and bring some of their young people to acknowledge every part of this agreement in the Sopes, to the end that it may be kept in perpetual memory."*

CHAP. II.

1665.

7 October.
Purchase of
Esopus
lands.

This treaty with the Esopus Indians enabled Nicolls to offer new inducements to planters, of which the province was in great need. While at Boston in the previous May, he had caused to be printed by Samuel Green, at the Cambridge press—then the only printing-press in the British American colonies—on a half sheet of foolscap paper, "The conditions for new planters in the territories of his Royal Highness the Duke of York." In this document the terms upon which lands could be purchased and held were stated, in conformity to the "Duke's Laws," which had just been promulgated at Hempstead. "Liberty of conscience" was prominently allowed. "The lands which I intend shall be first planted," said Nicolls, "are those upon the west side of Hudson's River, at or adjoining to the Sopes." In this form numbers of copies had been distributed. As soon as he had made the treaty, Nicolls added, in his own handwriting, to the copies not yet issued, "The governor hath purchased all the Sopes land, which is now ready for planters to put the plough into, it being clear ground."†

New offers
to planters.

* Col. MSS., xxii., 4; Deeds, iii., 7-10; Esopus Records; Ulster H. S. Coll., i., 52-62, 97; Denton's N. Y., 14; *ante*, vol. i., 675, 678. This purchase of Nicolls was beyond the "new village," now known as Hurley, which Stuyvesant had caused to be laid out after his treaty with the Esopus sachems in 1660: *ante*, vol. i., 678, 690, 710-714; Ulster H. S. Coll., i., 71, 72.

† Thomas's History of Printing, i., 226, 258; ii., 89; Ulster H. S. Coll., i., 97, 98. An original of these "conditions" is in the library of the N. Y. Hist. Society; and there is a reprint of them in Leaming and Spicer, 667, 668. Another original, with Nicoll's manuscript addition (formerly belonging to Ebenezer Hazard), is in the Force Library at Washington; and one of these amended copies Smith reprinted in his revised edition (1830), i., 39, 49.

It is interesting to note that a censorship of the press was established by Massachusetts on 5 October, 1662, and repealed on 27 May, 1663. But when the royal commissioners, on 24 May, 1665, desired that certain papers should be printed, the General Court, three days "forward, to prevent "abuse to the authority of this country by the printing-press," again ordered "that there shall be no printing-press allowed in any towne within this jurisdiction but in Cambridge, nor shall any person or persons presume to print any cope but



CHAP. II.

1665.
28 Septem.
to
4 October.
Court of
Assizes.

According to the requirements of the code, the Court of Assizes was now held at New York. It was attended by the governor, his counselors, and the justices of Yorkshire. Several amendments to the laws were adopted and promulgated. Among other things, all wills were required to be deposited in the Record Office at New York, and all land patents to be recorded there. To enforce the provision in the code, it was ordered that "all persons whatsoever who have any grants or patents of townships, lands or houses within this government, shall bring in the said grants or patents to the governor, and shall have them renewed by authority from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, before the beginning of the next Court of Assizes."*

3 October.
Long Isl-
and affairs.
5 October.

At this court some of the sachems of the Long Island Indians appeared before the governor, and agreed to submit to his authority. A few days afterward Nicolls issued a patent to David Gardiner, confirming to him the grant of the Isle of Wight, or Gardiner's Island, which had been originally made to his father in 1640, by Farrett, as agent of the Earl of Stirling. This was the promptest compliance of any considerable landowner with the requirement of the code.†

2 October.
Case of
witchcraft.

An interesting criminal case was also decided at Nicolls's first Court of Assizes. Ralph Hall and his wife Mary having been presented by the authorities of Brookhaven for practicing "some detestable and wicked arts, commonly called witchcraft and sorcery," which, it was alleged, had caused two deaths, were arraigned before the Court of Assizes. As the New England penalties against that delusion had been left out of the New York code, the prisoners were indicted, not for witchcraft, but for murder by means of witchcraft. Twelve jurymen, one of whom was Jacob Leisler, afterward so prominent in provincial affairs, tried the case. They found that there were "some suspicions by the evidence of what the woman is charged with, but

by the allowance first had and obtained under the hands of such as this court shall from time to time empower." *Mass. Rec.*, iv. (ii.), 62, 73, 141, 211; *Hutch. Mass.*, i., 248. *Thomas*, *Hist. Print.*, i., 247, gives the date of this order erroneously as of 19 October, 1664, instead of 27 May, 1665.

* *N. Y. H. S. Coll.*, i., 402-411; *Col. MSS.*, xxii., 7, 107; *Wood*, 90; *Hoffman's Treatise*, i., 96, 97.

† *Deeds*, ii., 127; *Patents*, i., 30; *Thompson*, i., 311; *Doc. III t.*, i., 463; *Dunlap*, ii., App. cxix.; *ante*, vol. i., 267, 268.



nothing considerable of value to take away her life." As to the man, there was "nothing considerable to charge him with." The court thereupon sentenced Hall to give a recognizance for his wife's appearance from Sessions to Sessions, and be of good behavior while they remained within the government.*

In consequence of the war between the United Provinces and England, Nicolls now ordered in council that all the lands and property within the territories of the Duke of York, belonging to Dutch subjects who had not taken the oath of allegiance to the king, should be confiscated to his majesty's use. This decree was entered on the records; yet while, "for reasons and considerations" satisfactory to the governor, it was not made public, it was to stand as firm and effectual "as if the same had been publicly declared and manifested."†

Nicolls, however, did not dislike the Dutch. When it was found that the salary of their ministers at New York had fallen into arrear, the governor directed the mayor and aldermen to enforce a contribution of twelve hundred guilders for their support. As Megapolensis and Drisius also preached in some of the parishes on Long Island, the people of Bushwick were directed to raise a proportion of the sum.‡

To the duke Nicolls modestly reported: "My endeavors have not been wanting to put the whole government into one frame and policy, and now the most refractory Republicans can not but acknowledge themselves fully satisfied with the method and way they are in. * * * I have been

* Court of Assizes, ii., 39-42; Doc. Hist. N. Y., iv., 55, 53; Yates's note to Smith, ed. 1814; Wood, 24; N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 326; Col. Rec. Conn., i., 77; New Haven Col. Rec., ii., 576. One of the last acts of Governor Nicolls, just before he left New York, was to release Hall and his wife from their bonds, on 21 August, 1668: Ord., Warr., etc., ii., 216, 217; Doc. Hist., iv., 58. By the statutes of England (23 Hen. VIII., cap. 8, and 1 Jac. I., cap. 12), witchcraft, sorcery, and the invocation of evil spirits were felony, without benefit of clergy. These English laws were not repealed until 1753. It is worthy of remark, that on the 10th of March, 1665, a few months before Hall and his wife were acquitted in New York, "two wrinkled old women" were convicted of bewitching, before Sir Matthew Hale, chief baron of the English Court of Exchequer, at Bury Saint Edmunds, and were hung, protesting their innocence: Howell's State Trials, vi., 647-702; Campbell's Chief Justices, i., 162-566.

† New York Surrogate's Rec. Wills, i., 1, 2; Val. Man., 1847, 551. By virtue of this decree, Hog Island in Hellgate, afterward called Manning's, and Blackwell's Island, was, among other property, confiscated: Patents, i., 129. The earlier volumes of records in the New York Surrogate's Office are full of documents of general interest to the state, copies of which, at all events, ought to be preserved in the Secretary's Office at Albany.

‡ Ord., Warr., and Lett., ii., 24; Dunlap, i., 129; N. Y. City Rec., vi., 72, 167; Thompson, ii., 153, 159; Hist. Mag., i. (3d.), 322.

CHAP. II.
1665.

10 October.
Property
of Dutch
subjects
confis-
cated.

26 Decem.
27 Decem.
Church
affairs.

November.



CHAP. II. more industrious than in all the other actions of my life to
 1665. this day; and what I have done towards the settlement of
 laws in the government, Mr. Coventry will show to your
 royal highness." At the same time the governor sent over
 "a copy of the laws as they now stand, with the alterations
 made at the last General Assizes, which," he added, if the
 duke should "be pleased to confirm, and cause them to be
 printed at London, the whole country will be infinitely
 obliged."

Laws sub-
 mitted to
 the duke.

Condition
 of New
 York.

The condition of the metropolis Nicolls told in feeling
 terms. Its whole trade, "both inwards and outwards, is
 lost for want of shipping." The people of Long Island
 were very poor, and labored only to get bread and cloth-
 ing. From the city of New York alone "is the great hope
 of all the benefit which can arise to your royal highness;
 and, if my former proposals of encouragement meet with a
 good answer, I may, without boasting, assure your royal
 highness that within five years the staple of America will
 be drawn hither, of which the brethren of Boston are very
 sensible."

Want of
 supplies.

This prophetic remark was made by Nicolls after he had
 visited the capital of Massachusetts in the previous spring.
 Yet New York, at that day, sadly wanted those comforts
 to which even English private soldiers were accustomed.
 "Such is the mean condition of this town, which I am sure
 is the best of all his majesty's towns in America, that not
 one soldier hath to this day, since I brought them out of
 England, been in a pair of sheets, or upon any sort of bed
 but canvass and straw." Owing to the want of supplies,
 the whole charge of four garrisons had fallen upon the
 governor, which had nearly ruined his private fortune.
 Cartwright's capture was very unlucky, because, among
 other things, it had prevented the duke from receiving a
 full detail of the condition of his province. Oppressed by
 these considerations, Nicolls asked to be relieved from his
 government, and proposed as his successor "Harry Nor-
 wood," who had returned to England in the *Guinea*, after
 the conquest, and "whose temper would be acceptable both
 to the soldiers and country."²⁸

* Col. Doc., ii. 194, 196; Chalmers, i. 575, 576, 597, 599; Gen. Ent., i. 62; N. Y. City
 Rec., vi., 53, 57. Norwood appears to have been governor of Dunkirk and deputy governor



Yet gloom was relieved by news that the English had gained a great naval victory over the Dutch in the North Sea, and that the Duke of York, "to whose wisdom and courage" the result was attributed, had escaped unhurt. This event was celebrated in New York with "a general joy and thanksgiving;" and Nicolls assured his chief that "it hath revived our spirits, and is antidote both against hunger and cold, until such time as your royal highness shall think us worthy of a nearer consideration."**

CHAP. II.

1665.

Thanks-giving.

Before war opened between England and the United Provinces, De Witt and D'Estrades had many conferences about the interference of France. The States General, while insisting upon a reciprocal restitution of conquests, were willing to adopt the French suggestion that hostilities should be confined to New Netherland in America and Guinea in Africa, without affecting Europe. Charles having accepted the mediation of Louis, the French king proposed that New Netherland should be exchanged for Poleron, one of the Banda or Nutmeg Islands, which the Hollanders had retaken from the English. But this was declined by the Dutch, who maintained that if conquests were mutually restored, they would only receive back what had been "ravished from them in full peace," and which the English "could not appropriate by any just title, nor retain under any probable pretext."†

Affairs in Europe.

24 April.

26 May.

27 May.

Hostilities now began vigorously. Off Lowestoffe, on the coast of Suffolk, the Duke of York, with a large English fleet, fought the Dutch under Admiral Opdam, whose ship blew up. After an obstinate combat the Dutch retired to their ports, and the English remained, for a short time, masters of the sea. James returned in triumph to London. An English medal was struck bearing the words "Quatuor maria vindico"—*I claim the four seas*. But the bonfires in London which celebrated the victory glared over a doomed city. The plague broke out. The appalled court fled from Whitehall. During the next five months the metropolis was almost a desert. Thoroughfares were over-

1st June.
Battle between the Dutch and English at Lowestoffe.

November.
Plague in London.

of Tangier, and in 1671 to have been granted the quit-rents of Virginia: Pepys, i., 46, 355; iv., 67, 91, 130; Chalmers, i., 328; Evelyn, ii., 87; Campbell, 215, 272; ante, p. 52.

* Col. Dec., iii., 104.

† Col. Dec., ii., 326-329; iii., 104; D'Estrades, iii., 81, 85, 89, 92, 93, 164, 168, 170, 188-192; Basnage, v., 373-376; Rapin, ii., 639; De Witt, ii., 68, 70, 93; iv., 463; Basnage, i., 737-740, 86; Anderson on Commerce, ii., 426, 482, 493; Pinkerton, viii., 457; xi., 123; ante, p. 78.



CHAP. II. grown with grass, and the awful silence was broken only by the nightly round of the pest-cart.*

1665.

23 July.
New Neth-
erland
and Pole-
ron.

16 August.

20 August.

August.

Haughty
English
claims.

In Holland, naval defeat almost produced a revolution. The people began to murmur against De Witt, and all anxiously looked for the return of De Ruyter from America. Louis, annoyed at the growing haughtiness of Charles, pressed De Witt to exchange New Netherland for Poleron; and the Pensionary, avowing that the sacrifice would be great, agreed that the French king might, "as of his own accord," propose it to the King of England. This step was kept secret from the States General, for both Louis and De Witt feared that the people might declare for the young Prince of Orange. The French ambassadors at London were directed to make the proposed offer "as from themselves," and Louis promised to break with Charles if it was not accepted. The States General were urged to sustain De Witt's secret agreement; but they only directed the East and West India Companies, which were chiefly interested, to give their opinions upon the proposition.†

The English answer to the French overture was, that the Dutch had usurped New Netherland, to which they had no right, and that the king was surprised at a proposal to cede Poleron "in compensation for a country already his own." With headstrong subserviency, Clarendon reiterated the falsehood that King James had granted the country, "afterwards named New Netherland," to Lord Stirling; that "the Scotch had begun to cultivate it a long time before the Hollanders were received there;" and that, as the Duke of York had bought the rights of Stirling's heirs, the Dutch province legitimately belonged to the English. Yet the chancellor well knew that Lord Stirling's claim affected Long Island only, and not the rest of New Netherland.

* Aitzema, v., 377-384, 443-460; Basnage, i., 741-743; Pepys, ii., 243-250; Evelyn, i., 417-422; Kennett, iii., 255, 256; Burnet, i., 218, 219; Rapin, ii., 653, 654; Clarke's James II., i., 405-422; Lister's Clarendon, ii., 333-335; iii., 380-384; Courtenay's Temple, i., 80; Martin, i., 270. The Guinea and the Martin, two of the ships which had assisted in the reduction of New Netherland, were in the British fleet in the battle of Junc, 1665, but under other commanders. Three of the captains who returned from New York were also in that battle with other ships. Hyde, of the Guinea, commanded the Jersey, 18; Grove, of the Martin, the Success, 50; and Hill, of the Elias, which foundered on her voyage home, the Coventry, 22.—Allen's Battles of the British Navy, i., 46; Aitzema, v., 444-445; Pepys, ii., 185, 249; iii., 249; *ante*, p. 50, note.

† D'Estrades, iii., 197, 215, 219, 221, 242, 249, 250, 262, 265, 275, 295-301, 318; Aitzema, v., 348-358, 393; Col. Doc., ii., 341-353; Basnage, i., 743, 750-754; Lister, iii., 351, 357, 385, 393; Lambrechtsen, 78, note.



The Hollanders, he argued, had only been tolerated there as they would have been had they established themselves in England or elsewhere, where they would not, for that reason, acquire any right of sovereignty for their republic. The ambassadors of Louis answered this burlesque of reasoning by showing its utter want of analogy. But they saw that "the interest of the Duke of York prevailed," and that Clarendon did not believe that the Dutch would break off on the point of New Netherland, especially as the King of France himself had offered to cede it for Poleron.

CHAP. II.

1665.

Answer of the French.

This answer of Charles was justly considered by Louis as rather "hard, dry, and haughty." He wrote at once to D'Estrades, at the Hague, "I will say to you that, having examined what the English and the Hollanders have written upon the subject of New Netherland, it appears to me that the right of the Hollanders is the best founded; for it is a species of mockery to make believe that those who have built and peopled a city without any one saying a word to hinder them would have been tolerated as strangers in France or in England; and habitation, joined to a long possession, are, in my judgment, two sufficiently good titles to destroy all the reasons of the English." At the same time, Louis thought, that as the Dutch had already lost their American province, they should be willing to abandon it for the sake of peace.*

19 August.
Louis declares the right of the Dutch to New Netherland.

But the States of Holland were too much interested in the preservation of New Netherland to consent to its surrender. The city of Amsterdam likewise insisted upon recovering what had cost it so much. The States General would not treat with England unless Charles receded from his position; and De Witt's private agreement with Louis was repudiated. The French mediators—who thought that while the Duke of York would not give up New Netherland, the Dutch made its restitution rather "a point of honor"—made farther propositions to the English government. Charles haughtily replied that they were "not adapted to secure a firm peace." The West India Company, not yet satisfied with Stuyvesant's behavior, resolved that their own province in America should not be exchanged for Poleron, because they had "no partnership"

2 September.

17 September.

25 October.

27 October.
The W. I. Co. will not give up New Netherland.

* D'Estrades, iii., 324, 330-334; Aitzema, v., 393; Col. Doc., ii., 354, 355; Basnage, I, 754.



CHAP. II. with the East India Company, which had an entire monopoly in the Eastern seas, while not only were private persons largely concerned in New Netherland, but also great public interests were involved which would be ruined by its loss.*

1665. Meanwhile Downing had left Holland, after having sent to the States General a reply to their answer of the ninth of February, in which he insisted upon the English title to New Netherland, and mendaciously affirmed that it had not been "taken by any order" of the king. This having been published in London, the Dutch government ordered their rejoinder to be printed. The absurdity of the English claim was demonstrated; because, while James the First might insert in a patent such clauses as he chose, he could not thereby prejudice the rights of others; and, moreover, he had expressly excepted territory in the possession of other states. The "imaginary subterfuge" that Charles had not directed the capture of New Netherland was exposed by quoting his own orders to Nicolls of the 23d April, 1664. Full appendices completed this able state paper, which fitly closed the long correspondence between Holland and England about the conquest of New Netherland.†

The answer of Charles to the propositions of Louis ended any hopes of a peaceable adjustment. All the cities of Holland thanked God that he had not accepted them. They determined to bear increased taxation for war rather than submit to dishonorable terms of peace. Van Gogh was recalled from London by a letter, in which the States General set forth their offers of reciprocal restitution, and the British haughty repulse of them. Charles, on his part, insisted that the Provincial States of Holland were "the real authors" of a war which seemed to "prejudice the Protestant religion."‡ And as this eventful year closed, the two great champions of the Reformation prepared for a fiercer struggle.

3 Decem.
Fiercer war
at hand.

11 Decem.

15 Decem.

* D'Estrades, iii., 360, 365, 371, 382, 395, 425, 444, 472; Aitzema, v., 395; Basnage, i., 755; Col. Doc., ii., 357, 358, 361, 417-419; Courtenay's Temple, i., 75; M^S. N. Y. H. Soc., communicated by M. F. A. G. Campbell, of the Hague.

† D'Estrades, iii., 563; Aitzema, v., 394; Col. Doc., ii., 331-335, 379-415; *ante*, p. 19.

‡ Aitzema, v., 394, 396, 397; D'Estrades, iii., 565, 566, 577, 581; Basnage, i., 756.



CHAPTER III.

1666-1668.

A FRESH element now entered into the history of New York. Louis, reluctantly fulfilling his engagement to assist Holland against England, issued a declaration of war against Charles the Second. It was very moderate in its tone; for the French king secretly sympathized with his English brother, and was really hostile to the Republic of heretics and merchants. "This is a great step I have taken," wrote Louis to D'Estrades at the Hague, "for the sole interest of the States, and in almost every thing contrary to my own." The next month England declared war against France. Charles immediately directed his American colonies to be on their guard against the enemy, and to reduce "all islands and plantations in those parts belonging to the French or Dutch nation, and especially that of Canada." These orders, however, did not reach New York until the following summer. But they foreshadowed an aggressive colonial policy, which, culminating in the conquest of New France by England a century afterward, prepared the way for the American Revolution.*

Interesting events had meanwhile happened on the northern frontier of New York. The treaty which Nicolls had so promptly caused to be made with the native Indians at Albany, and his subsequent behavior toward them, were meant to make them firm friends of the English, as they had been of the Dutch. The territory of the Mohawks and Oneidas was within the Duke of York's patent; and even at that early day the time was perhaps anticipated when the five confederated nations, instead of

CHAP. III.

1666.

29 Jan.
France de-
clared war
against
England.

9 Feb.

22 Feb.
English
colonial
orders.

* *Albany*, v., 693, 695, 912; *D'Estrades*, iv., 47, 65, 76; *Kennett*, iii., 258; *Rapin*, ii., 343, 347; *Basnage*, i., 779; *Lavallée*, iii., 212; *Martin*, i., 272; *Courtenay's Temple*, i., 102; *Col. Rec. Conn.*, ii., 129, 137; *Col. Rec. Conn.*, ii., 514; *Shen's note to Miller's N. Y.*, 113, 114.

CHAP. III.

1666.
New York
and Canada.

being treated as equals, would be claimed as English subjects, and used as barriers against the neighboring French in Canada. Between New France and New Netherland there had been little if any disagreement, while many acts of kindness shown by the Dutch were long remembered by the French authorities. But now, instead of placid Holland, aggressive England was sovereign of New York. Where there had been friendship was soon to be discord; and national antipathies, which could not be repressed in Europe, were destined to begin, in the country of the Iroquois, an eventful struggle for ultimate supremacy in North America.

French
policy in
Canada.

It had been the policy of France to obtain a spiritual as well as temporal dominion over the savages who encompassed her colonists in the New World. Wherever the lilies were planted, there was set up the cross. With heroic devotion the missionaries of Christianity pushed on their labors among the tribes south of the Saint Lawrence and "the beautiful lake" which the Iroquois called "Ontario."* Of all these confederated tribes the Onondagas were the most friendly to the French. This was chiefly owing to their greatest orator, Garakontié, "the sun that advances," who had nothing savage in him "except birth and education." A nephew of the "Atotarho," or great sachem of the Iroquois, but himself neither sachem nor chief, Garakontié had acquired immense power over his countrymen by his eloquence and his political wisdom. He had protected the Jesuit father Simon le Moyne at Onondaga, and had induced the remote Cayugas and Senecas to join his own nation in releasing their French prisoners, with whom the missionary returned to Canada in the summer of 1662.†

But the nearer Oneidas and Mohawks cherished enmity, and even threatened Montreal. This aroused the Canadian government. The Baron Pierre du Bois d'Avaugour, who had succeeded D'Argenson in 1661, was a soldier, who

* "Ontario" signifies in Indian "the beautiful lake;" Col. Doc., ix., 16; Hennepin's *Louisiana*, 5. The note in Col. Doc., ix., 56, which renders Ontario "the Great Lake," is contradictory, and seems to be erroneous.

† Col. Doc., ix., 13, 16, 76; Relation (ed. Quebec, 1858), 1661, 32-38; 1662, 10-12; Hennepin, *Desc. de la Louisiane*, 5; Charlevoix (ed. 12mo), ii., 88, 163-119, 144; Shea's *Catholic Missions*, 242, 248; Ferland, *Histoire du Canada*, i., 470-477; Faillon, *Hist. de la Col. Française en Canada*, ii., 469; iii., 2, 32; Sparks's *Life of La Salle*, 71; Bancroft, iii., 120-162; *ante*, vol. i., 84, 7-4. Le Moyne died at the Cap de la Madeleine, 24 November, 1665; Col. Doc., iii., 123; ix., 38; Shea's *Missions*, 248.



thought it his chief duty "to plant effectually the *fleur de lys*" in New France. He recommended to Louis a scheme of fortifications by which Quebec would be made impregnable, and the king "master of America, where all the heretics would remain only so long as might please him." The Iroquois he considered a rabble to be destroyed. To this end forts should be built on the Richelieu River, and at the upper part of the Hudson, near Fort Orange. Three thousand men should be sent to Canada to rout the Iroquois, hinder the progress of the heretics, and open a direct communication with the sea through the more genial region of New Netherland. Should his bold plan be vigorously prosecuted, D'Avangour prophesied that his ambitious sovereign would be "master of the finest and greatest empire in the world."

CHAP. III.

1663.

4 August.
D'Avangour advises the destruction of the Iroquois.

On the other hand, the Jesuit missionaries insisted that their greatest obstacle was the drunkenness of the Indians, who were supplied with liquors by the Europeans, and especially by the Dutch at Fort Orange. The French colonists had been forbidden by severe edicts from engaging in this traffic. But D'Avangour would not enforce the prohibition; and a quarrel broke out between him and the ecclesiastics, headed by Laval de Montmorency, the titular Bishop of Pétrée, *in partibus infidelium*, who had come out to Quebec in 1659 as Vicar Apostolic of New France. Laval complained to the king, who, at his suggestion, appointed the Chevalier Augustin de Mezy, an apostate Calvinist, to succeed D'Avangour as Governor of Canada. De Mezy arrived at Quebec in the summer of 1663, accompanied by the Royal Commissary Du Pont Gaudais, who organized the colonial government which Louis had established after the surrender to him of all their rights by the old Canada Company.*

The Jesuits oppose the liquor trade.

1 May.
De Mezy Governor of Canada.

The administration of De Mezy was short and troubled. Its most important event was an embassy sent by the Iroquois to Montreal, in the summer of 1664, to treat for peace. The Mohawks had been weakened and their pride humbled by their war with the Mahicans, or "Loups."†

1664.

Iroquois embassy to Montreal.

* C.E. Doc., ix., 7-17, 25, 59, 783, 784; Relation, 1661, 10; Quebec MSS., ii. (ii.) 170; Garneau, Hist. du Canada, i., 140-146, 155; Ferland, i., 447, 448, 476-483, 494-500; Faillon, ii., 271; ibid., 300-69; Charlevoix, ii., 88, 105, 120-123, 135, 137, 140, 145; ante, vol. i., 705.

† The Mahicans or Mohegans were originally settled on the Hudson River, and were



CHAP. III. The far-off Senecas were in arms against their fierce neighbors, the Andastes, or Conestogues, or Susquehannas, who inhabited the region west of the Swedes on the Delaware, near what is now Lancaster in Pennsylvania, and were thought "the most capable of all others to exterminate the Iroquois."* The confederate nations therefore desired that the French should live among them and supply them with European weapons. De Mezy was assured by the upper tribes that all except the Oneidas desired peace; and the friendly disposition of the Mohawks was vouched for by a letter from "one of the notables of New Netherland." But the governor let the Iroquois see that the French were resolved to rid themselves of such treacherous enemies.†

De Mezy, however, quarreled with the Jesuits, as his predecessor had, and was recalled by Colbert. The Chevalier Daniel de Remy de Courcelles, a brave officer of merit and experience, was commissioned to succeed him as governor of Canada. The Sieur Jean Talon, formerly of Hainault, a man of large views and enterprising mind, was also appointed intendant of justice, police, and finance. D'Avaujour's plans of fortification, which he had explained more fully on his return to France, and the advice of D'Estrades to destroy the Iroquois in a year, were now favorably considered. The king's instructions to Talon declared the five nations to be "perpetual and irreconcilable enemies of the colony," and ordered that war should be carried "even to their firesides, in order totally to exterminate them." A thousand veterans of the Carignan regiment, which had just distinguished itself against the Turks in Hungary, were detached, under the command of

1665.
23 March.
Courcelles
governor of
Canada,
and Talon
intendant.

27 March.

therefore often called the "River Indians." Their Indian name "Mahigan" was the Algonquin word for "wolf," which the French translated into "Loup." Relation, 1660, 31; 1661, 39; 1664, 33; Charlevoix, v., 178; Col. Doc., ix., 38, 66; *ante*, vol. i., 72, 183, 232, 733.

* Relation, 1660, 6; 1661, 31; 1663, 10; 1664, 33; Charlevoix, i., 134; Col. Doc., iii., 74, 125, 417, 797; v., 489; ix., 45, 63, 84, 227, 665; Doc. Hist., i., 250; Shea, 24, 249, 291. Mr. Gallatin erroneously places the Andastes on the Alleghany and Ohio Rivers, and calls them Guyandots. The Mengwe, Mingoes, or Mingoes were the Andastes, or Gandastogues, or Conestogas, who lived on the Conestoga Creek, which empties into the Susquehanna. Upon their reduction by the Five Iroquois Nations in 1675, the Andastes were to a great extent mingled with their conquerors; and a party removing to the Ohio, commonly called Mingoes, was thus made up of Iroquois and Mingoes. The celebrated Logan was a real Andaste: Colden, i.; Shea's note on Washington's Ohio Diary, p. 224; Historical Magazine, ii., 294-297.

† Relation, 1663, 11; 1664, 26, 32-36; Charlevoix, ii., 134, 141, 142; Garneau, i., 156; Shea, 250, 251; Faillon, iii., 85-100; *ante*, vol. i., 733.



the Sieur de Salières, and Courcelles set sail with his expedition for Canada.* CHAP. III.

In the mean time, Louis had commissioned Alexander de Prouville, Marquis de Tracy, to be his lieutenant general in America, in the absence of the Count D'Estrades, whom he had appointed viceroy, but who was now his ambassador in Holland. Tracy embarked with four companies of infantry, and, after visiting the West Indies, sailed for the Saint Lawrence. Among other things, the acting viceroy was instructed to avoid quarreling with the Jesuits, but not let them encroach too much. Their interdiction of the liquor trade had injured Canada, because the savages carried all their peltries to the Dutch, who supplied them with brandy in exchange. Another consequence followed: the Iroquois allowed themselves "to be catechized by the Dutch ministers, who instruct them in heresy." In the opinion of Lyonne, the Jesuits should have "closed the eye to one evil to avoid a greater."

1663.
19 Novem.
Tracy viceroy of New France.

1664.
15 Novem.

Soon after Tracy reached Quebec, he was joined by Courcelles and Talon. The squadron in which they came brought over, besides the Carignan regiment, a number of mechanics and cattle, and the first horses that had been seen in Canada; "in a word, a more considerable colony than that which it came to re-inforce." No time was lost in executing the vigorous policy which Louis had adopted. The viceroy, with all his soldiers, went up to the mouth of the Richelieu, when the fort which Montmagny had established in 1642 was at once rebuilt by the able engineer Saurel, or Sorel, whose name is commemorated in that which the river now bears. A second fort was erected by Chambly at the foot of the rapids, about half way to Lake Champlain, which at first was called Saint Louis, but was soon known as Fort Chambly. Three leagues farther south a third fort was built, called Sainte Thérèse, because it was finished on the fifteenth day of October. Here Salières took his post as colonel; and the way to Lake Champlain was now commanded by the French.†

1665.
30 June.

14 Septem.

23 July.
Forts built on the Richelieu, or Sorel River.

15 October.

* Old. Doc. ix., 20-29, 785; Faillon, iii., 100-116; Charlevoix, ii., 145-147, 150; D'Estrades, ii., 576, 577; Garneau, i., 188, 189; *ante*, p. 75. De Mezy died at Quebec on the 10th of May, 1665, a short time before Courcelles arrived there.

† Old. Doc. ix., 18, 19, 22; Robison, 1665, 3, 4, 7, 10-13, 25; La Potherie, i., 319; ii., 82; Charlevoix, i., 357; ii., 151, 152; v., 221; Doc. Hist., i., 42-45; Warburton, i., 373; Garneau, i., 190; Ferland, i., 320; Faillon, iii., 117-126; Shea, 261. On the map in the



CHAP. III.

1665.
December.
The Western Iroquois visit "Onnontio."

Decem.
Treaty made.

The Mohawks not included.

Canada ignorant of the English conquest of New Netherland.

These vigorous measures impressed the savages. Deputies from the Onondagas, who also represented the Cayugas and Senecas, hastened to Tracy at Quebec, led by Garakontié, "the father of the Frenchmen." An Oneida chief joined the Western ambassadors, and spoke for his nation. Presents were interchanged between the Iroquois plenipotentiaries and "Onnontio,"* by which name they distinguished the governor of Canada. A treaty was made, by which Louis was declared the protector and sovereign of the four Iroquois nations, and they his vassals and allies. French families and missionaries were to be settled among the savages, and farms near Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec assigned to emigrants from the four Iroquois nations. Thus these nations would "hold the French, not merely by the hem and fringe of the garment, but clasp them cordially around the waist." The Mohawks were not included in the treaty. The representatives of the other confederates promised to return to Quebec "within four moons," and ratify this acknowledgment of their vassalage to France.†

Up to this time the French in Canada were ignorant of the political changes in New York. They supposed that it was still a Dutch province. The boundaries between New France and the neighboring English colonies were indefinite; but while the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas had just given to Louis a nominal sovereignty over much of the territory south of Lake Ontario, the Mohawks had never acknowledged their subjection to any European master. Tracy therefore resolved to treat them as enemies.

1666. An expedition into the Mohawk country was organized, and Courcelles was directed to take the command. In the depth of winter he began his march with three hundred regular soldiers and two hundred Canadians. The Father

Relation of 1665, the name of Sorel is spelled "Saurel," which seems to be the true orthography according to Col. Doc., ix., 52, 53, 139.

* This word, derived from "Onnonta," a mountain, signifies, in the Iroquois tongue, "Great mountain." It was a literal translation of the name of Montmaguy, who was governor of Canada from 1636 to 1648; and the savages, having become familiar with the word, applied it to his successors in office. By the same rule they called the King of France "Grand Onnontio." The English, who did not understand its etymology, wrote the word "Yonnondio." Relation, 1661, 22; 1665, 8; Doc. Hist., i., 32, 33, 35; Col. Doc., iii., 459, 733, 735; iv., 893; ix., 37; La Potherie, i., 303, 348; Charlevoix, i., 350; Colden, i., 29, 62, 70; ante, vol. i., 591, note.

† Col. Doc., iii., 121-125; ix., 37, 38; Relation, 1661, 28; 1664, 32; 1665, 5; Charlevoix, ii., 154, 155; Doc. Hist., i., 46; Garneau, i., 193; Shea, 251; Faillon, iii., 127, 128.



Pierre Raffeix went along as chaplain. Snow four feet deep covered the ground, so that no horses could be used. Light sledges, drawn by mastiffs, were the only mode of conveying provisions. Each officer and soldier was also obliged to carry a weight of thirty pounds, and to walk on large Canadian snow-shoes, to the use of which the heroes from Hungary were not accustomed. It required "a French courage" to sustain their long and difficult march through American forests, over deep snow, and across frozen lakes and rivers, and to sleep in the woods, where the cold was more severe than the rudest winters in Europe. From Fort Sainte Therèse they passed southward, over Lake Champlain, toward the Mohawk villages. But, in the absence of their expected Algonquin guides, they missed their way, and wandered in the wilderness until, without knowing where they were, they encamped about two miles from Schenectady, or Corlaer.* A party of Mohawks appearing, a detachment of fusileers was sent against them, which, falling into an ambuscade, lost several killed and wounded. The Mohawks reported their victory at Schenectady, and exhibited the heads of four Frenchmen as trophies. The news was dispatched to Albany, and the next day three of the "principal inhabitants" came to inquire why the French commander had brought "such a body of armed men into the dominions of his majesty of Great Britain without acquainting the governor of these parts with his designs?" Courcelles replied that he had come to attack and destroy his enemies, the Mohawks, but not to molest the English; and that he "had not heard of the reducing those parts to his majesty's obedience." Seeing that the English, instead of the Dutch, were masters, he was "disturbed in mind," and prophetically remarked "that the King of England did grasp at all America." As it was reported that France and Holland had united against England, Courcelles inquired particularly about the force at Albany, thinking that he might take the place by a rapid movement. But, learning that the fort was garrisoned by sixty English soldiers with nine cannon, and that Baker

CHAP. III.
1666.
Courcelles's expedition against the Mohawks.

30 Jan'y.

15 Febr'y.
The French at Schenectady.

20 Febr'y.

* The French called this place "Corlaer," after Arendt Van Curler, who had begun a settlement there in 1661: see *ante*, vol. I., 345, 659, 691, 732; Colden, I., 31; Charlevoix, II., 469; *Col. Rec.*, ix., 467.



CHAP. III. had sent down to Brodhead at Esopus for a re-enforcement, he abandoned the project. At his request, seven of his wounded were taken to Albany for medical aid. Wine and provisions were cheerfully supplied, through the influence of Van Curler; but Courcelles declined the offers of accommodation for his troops in Schenectady, lest his half-starved followers, who had camped under the cold blue heavens for six weeks, might desert if brought "within the smell of a chimney-corner." Learning that most of the Mohawks and Oneidas had gone to attack the "wampum makers," while the rest had retired to their castles, and fearing that a sudden thaw might break up the ice, Courcelles "found it reasonable to return home, nothing effected." He began his retreat with a show of marching toward the Mohawk villages, but soon faced northward, and pushed rapidly for Canada. The savages pursued their enemies to Lake Champlain, and made some prisoners. The French supposed that they had terrified the Mohawks, who only took fresh courage because their vainglorious adversaries had "vanished like false fire."*

1666.

The
French
kindly
treated.The
French
retreat.Action of
Nicolls.

26 March.

24 March.

When the news of Courcelles's expedition reached Nicolls, he was "surprised" at such an invasion of "these His Majesty's dominions" in time of peace, which was "not conformable to the practice in Europe." Yet he commended the friendly conduct of the Albany officers, whose predecessors had "in all former times been very affectionate with Christian charity to ransom or by any other means to convey divers French prisoners out of the hands of their barbarous enemies." The wounded Frenchmen who had been left there were carefully attended by Surgeon D'Hinse, who spoke their own tongue. With Nicolls's approbation, the officers at Albany exerted themselves so that the Mohawks "were at last wrought upon to treat of peace" with the French; and a letter from Baker and his colleagues, announcing the event to Tracy, was handed to the Oneidas to carry to Quebec. In consequence of the supplies which had been furnished to Courcelles, and of an anticipated short crop, the governor was obliged to prohibit the ex-

* Relation, 1666, 6, 7; Col. Doc., 118, 119, 126, 127, 133, 152, 395; Doc. Hist., I, 46, 47, 50, 51, 53, 100; Charlevoix, II, 144, 156, 157; Colden, I, 31, 32; Mass. H. S. Coll., I, 161; Failen, III, 129-134.



portation of wheat from New York, except by special license.* CHAP. III.

1666.

By this time apprehension of an attack by De Ruyter had ceased; but the want of trade, caused by the war and the English navigation laws, was grievous to New York. In letters to the Duke of York, and Clarendon and Coventry, Nicolls described the sad condition of the province. To Arlington he wrote, "In regard the inhabitants (at least three parts of four) being Dutch, though now His Majesty's subjects as native English, have been seated here divers years as a factory, and their estates as well as relations interwoven with their correspondents and friends in Holland, unless His Majesty pleaseth to grant them some extraordinary enfranchisement, the sudden interruption of their factory with Holland will absolutely destroy all the present inhabitants; who, setting aside the innate love to their country in this time of war after so sudden a change, will prove better subjects than we have found in some of the other colonies; and, with a moderate permission, both for time and trade, will support this government better than can be reasonably expected from new comers of our own nation, who at first, as we find by experience, are blown up with large designs, but not knowing the knack of trading here to differ from most other places, they meet with discouragements, and stay not to become wiser." After alluding to the action of the royal commissioners, and the "sophistry" and "pride" of Massachusetts, Nicolls remarked that New York "will withdraw, in short time, most of their trade hither, where I have begun to set up a school of better religion and obedience to God and the king." Again he urged that "a speedy consideration be taken of the necessities both of the soldiers and country. For myself," he added, "I am utterly ruined in my small estate and credit; and, which is worse, without very great supplies I shall not be able to secure or make an honest defence of his majesty's interest should we be attacked by a foreign force." The English soldiers, upon whom alone he could rely, were now dispersed into four garrisons, at New York, Esopus, Al-

9 April.
Sad letters
of Nicolls
home.

* Col. Doc., III., 126-134; Orl., Warr., Lett., II., 30, 78, 157. Nicolls appears to have thought of sending Van Curler to Canada, but the latter did not go until the next year: Col. Doc., III., 128, 156; *post*, 121.



CHAP. III. bany, and the Delaware. "My ignorance," he modestly suggested, "made me bold to undertake so great a charge, which will become a much wiser man and of a more plentiful fortune."^{*}

1666. The Delaware territory. 20 March. 9 April. 9 April. The Delaware territory had meanwhile been governed by Nicolls on his own responsibility, without any directions from England. To encourage its trade, he directed that no duties should be levied on any merchandise carried between it and New York. By Ensign Arthur Stock, who had acted as commissary there, Nicolls wrote to Arlington, exposing the fallacy of Lord Baltimore's pretensions to the Delaware country, and urging that it might be granted to Berkeley and Carteret in place of New Jersey. "If some course be not taken to rectify these great mistakes," he added, "New York, Delaware, and the Lord Berkeley's interest will destroy each other." Sir Robert Carr, who was now at New York, also renewed his suggestion that Delaware should be united with some of the Eastern colonies, and himself made the governor, which he thought would be "both useful and beneficial." Nevertheless Delaware long remained an inconvenient appendage to New York.[†]

13 May. Haerlem patent. In spite of the admonitions of Nicolls, few patents for lands were yet issued. An important one, however, was granted to the inhabitants of Haerlem, or "Lancaster," which confirmed their former privileges, but in subordination to the city of New York, "as being within the liberties thereof."[‡]

Shelter Isl. and patent. 25 May. Following the example of Gardiner, the owners of Shelter Island obtained a confirmation of their title. This beautiful spot, formerly known as "Farret's Island," had come into the possession of Thomas Middleton, and Constant and Nathaniel Sylvester, of Barbadoes. The latter, who professed to be a Quaker, settled himself at Shelter Island. In consideration of one hundred and fifty pounds, paid "one half in beef and the other half in pork," toward the support of the New York government, Nicolls released

^{*} Col. Doc., iii., 114, 115. This letter, being addressed to Lord Arlington as Secretary of State, is preserved in the British State Paper Office. Those of the same date, which Nicolls wrote to the Duke of York, Lord Clarendon, and Secretary Coventry, were not deposited there: see N. Y. H. S. Coll. (1869), 113-120.

[†] Ord., Warr., Lett., ii., 43; S. Hazard, 369, 370; Col. Doc., iii., 105, 109, 113-115; R. I. Col. Rec., ii., 157, 158; Chalmers, i., 634.

[‡] Patents, i., 57-60; Hoffman, i., 131; *ante*, p. 76; vol. i., 674, 675.



the island forever from all taxes and all military duty. A patent was also issued confirming it to the Sylvesters as an "entire enfranchised township, manor, and place of itself," with equal privileges with any other town in the province.*

CHAP. III.
1666.
31 May.

Visiting Hempstead again at the time of the annual races, Nicolls made a treaty with Tackapausha, the chief sachem of the Marsapeagues, and other Long Island tribes, by which they covenanted to be at peace with the English and submit to their government.†

11 June.

In the mean time there was great discontent on Long Island, especially in its eastern towns, which were vexed at being no longer under the government of Connecticut.

Discontent
on Long
Island.

Southampton, Southold, and Easthampton refused to choose the local officers required by the duke's laws, and would not pay their rates. Nicolls therefore warned them

19 April.

against sedition, and that the duke's authority would be enforced. The oath required from the overseers seemed to be the chief stumbling-block, and this the governor prudently waived. The authors of the trouble were Howell,

21 April.

of Southampton, and Younge, of Southold, whose rival and colleague at the Hempstead meeting, William Wells, had been made high-sheriff of Yorkshire. In the judgment of Nicolls, Younge was "a bad instrument," but had no brains

3 May.

"to carry on such a business." Underhill, the high-constable of the North Riding, whose "reall hart" inclined to Connecticut, likewise wrote from Oyster Bay representing "the distempers of the people against the present form of government, by which they are inslaved under an arbitrary power," and intimated that there were some who would "hazard

7 May.

both life and estate in a mutiny and rebellion rather than bear the burden of the public charge." Nicolls peremptorily denounced the complainants as calumniators or traitors, and made known his purpose to act vigorously, but

29 April.

justly, in every case.‡

Nicolls
warns the
rebellious.
7 May.

Much of this ill feeling arose from the discontent of the eastern Long Island towns with the result of the Hempstead meeting. They disliked various provisions in Nicolls's

Cause of
the discontent.

* New Haven Col. Rec., ii., 51, 59, 92, 112, 190-194, 264, 380, 412; Col. Rec. Conn., i., 186, 193, 400, 427; Cldmixon, ii., 28; Fox's Journal (Philad. ed.), 438, 442, 453; Patents, i., 65.
† Thompson, i., 264-267, 292; Wood, 6, 9; *ante*, p. 96; vol. i., 292, 300, 301.

‡ Wood, 79; Thompson, i., 94; ii., 8.

§ Ord., Warr., Lett., ii., 46, 47, 50, 51, 55, 58, 59, 60, 61; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxvii., 192.



CHAP. III. code, and pined for a legislative assembly after the manner
 1666. of New England. Above all, they were mortified by what they thought was servile language in the address of their delegates to the Duke of York. This feeling grew when it was seen that several of those delegates had been appointed to office by the governor. Censures were so freely uttered by the disaffected, that the delegates, to justify themselves, drew up a "Narrative and Remonstrance," in which they detailed what had occurred at Hempstead, and declared that their address to the duke could not "bear any other natural sense and construction than our obedience and submission to His Majesty's letters patent, according to our duty and allegiance." This narrative they published and recorded in each town, "that future ages may not be seasoned with the sour malice of such unreasonable and groundless aspersions."**

21 June.
 "Narrative" of the
 Hempstead
 delegates.

September.
 Action of
 the Court
 of Assizes
 against se-
 dition.

Yet this did not satisfy the people. Disaffection became so general that the governor was obliged to interfere. At the autumn session of the Court of Assizes, it was accordingly decreed "that whosoever shall reproach or defame any person or persons who have or shall act in any public employment, either in court or otherwise, or shall vilify their proceedings who serve the public in this Government by authority under His Royal Highness the Duke of York, or whoever hereafter shall any ways detract or speak against any of the deputies signing the Address to His Royal Highness at the General Meeting at Hempstead, they shall be presented at the next Court of Sessions, and if the Justices shall see cause, they shall from thence be bound over to the Assizes, there to answer for the slander upon plaint or information." Sedition was most violent at Setalcott, or Brookhaven. Arthur Smith, of that place, was convicted at the Assizes of saying that "the King was none of his King, and the Governor none of his Governor," and sentenced to be put in the stocks. Richard Woodhull was also fined five pounds, and required to make a public acknowledgment. The same punishment was awarded to William Lawrence, of Flushing.†

29 Septem.

1 October.

* Deeds, ii., 42-48; Wood, 87, 173, 175; Thompson, i., 137; ii., 323-326.

† Court of Assizes, ii., 82, 83, 84, 94; Col. MSS., xxii., 107; N. Y. II. S. Coll., i., 417; Thompson, i., 137, 400, 410; ii., 364, 398.



Several amendments of the code were made at this ses- CHAP. III.
 sion of the Assizes. Public rates were required to be paid 1666.
 every year in wheat and other produce, at certain fixed 27 Septem.
 prices, "and no other payment shall be allowed of." As to
 the law against selling liquor to the savages was disregard- 2 October.
 ed, owing to the difficulty of proof, it was ordered "that al- Amend-
 though the testimony of heathens against Christians may ments to
 not altogether be allowed, yet, when it meets with other the code.
 apparent circumstances, such as may be sufficient to con-
 vince a jury, in such cases the Indian testimonies shall be
 admitted as good proofs against the persons accused." Per-
 haps the most important decree related to land patents.
 "The Court having taken notice of the defects and failings
 of both towns and persons in particuler of not bringing in
 their grants or patents to receive a confirmation of them,
 or not coming to take out new grants where they are de-
 fective, or where there are none at all, according to former
 directions in the Law, As also taking it into their serious con-
 siderations that several towns and persons within this Gov-
 ernment, as well English as Dutch, do hold their lands and
 houses upon the conditions of being subjects to the States
 of the United Belgic Provinces, which is contrary to the
 allegiance due to his Majesty, They do therefore Order that
 all grants or patents whatsoever formerly made, shall be
 brought in, to be confirmed or renewed by authority of his Land pat-
 Royal Highness the Duke of York, and all such as have ents to be
 not patents shall likewise be supplied therewith by the renewed.
 first day of April next after the date hereof; after which time
 neither town nor private person, whether English or Dutch,
 shall have liberty to plead any such old grants, patents, or
 deeds of purchase in law, but they shall be looked upon as
 invalid to all intents and purposes."*

This stringent ordinance made great commotion. It was
 vigorously enforced, because the quit-rents and fees on
 renewals were necessary for the support of the govern-
 ment. In the course of the next few months, Neperhaem,
 Pelham, Westchester, Eastchester, Huntington, Flushing, New pat-
 Brookhaven, Easthampton, New Utrecht, Gravesend, Ja- ents to be
 maica, Hempstead, Newtown, Flatlands, Bushwick, Flat-

* Court of Assizes, ii., 80; Col. MSS., xxii., 107; N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., i., 414-419; Hoff-
 man's Treatise, i., 97.



CHAP. III.

1666.

bush, and Brooklyn, paid new fees and obtained new charters which generally confirmed to each of them their old boundaries, and "all the rights and privileges belonging to a town within this government." But Southold and Southampton refused to comply with this law; and it was not until several years afterward that they were finally obliged to yield.*

New York
City and
Albany
patents.
16 Novem.

Nicolls, however, made allowances in special cases. In the city of New York, where all land titles were derived from the Dutch West India Company, the payments for new patents were greatly eased. The magistrates of Albany were granted a month's delay, "in regard 'tis uncertain whether the river will be open before the time prefixed by the Court of Assizes for bringing in your ground-briefs under a penalty." They were also desired to keep a strict hand upon the authors or reporters of strange news, "that amongst yourselves no quarrels or disputes may arise, and to the end that English and Dutch may live as brothers." At the same time Nicolls advised Jeremias van Rensselaer, who claimed Albany as a part of Rensselaerwyck, "not to grasp at too much authority," as the question was to be settled by the Duke of York, to whom it had been referred. "If you imagine," he added, "there is pleasure in titles of Government, I wish that I could serve your appetite, for I have found only trouble."†

9 Novem.
Thievish
soldiers.

The roguery of some of the soldiers gave Nicolls much annoyance. Thomas Weall and two others of the garrison at New York were convicted of having stolen some goods "out of Captain Carteret's cellar," and it was determined that one of them should die. The fatal lot fell to Weall. But on the Sunday evening before he was to be executed, "a company of the chief women of the city, both English and Dutch," earnestly besought the governor to spare his life. The next morning they again interceded, accompanied by "many others of the better sort, and a greater

11 Novem.

* Col. Doc., ii., 473; viii., 441; Patents, i., 88, 91, 99, 102, 105, 108, 111; iv., 50, 51, 53, 54, 56, 58; Bolton's Westchester, i., 125, 375, 517; ii., 171, 412; Riker's Newtown, 74, 75; Thompson's L. I., i., 311, 312, 334, 335, 384, 385, 411, 467; ii., 81, 159, 171, 177, 182, 201, 220; Stilck's Brooklyn, i., 154-156; *ante*, vol. i., 762.

† Court of Assizes, ii., 443, 444; Col. Doc., iii., 143, 144. Jeremias van Rensselaer seemed to claim a right to succeed his brother John Baptist as proprietor, but Nicolls advised him to apply the line of Ovid—*Filius ante diem patris inquit in annos*—and not to inquire prematurely, like a grasping son, how long his father was to live. See Barnard's Sketch of Rensselaerwyck, 131-133.



number of the ordinary Dutch women." All the privates in the garrison, headed by Sergeant Thomas Exton, joined in a petition for their comrade's release. Yielding to these influences, Nicolls drew up the soldiers on parade, and pardoned the prisoners.*

CHAP. III.

1666.

12 Novem.

The governor's prudence was generally appreciated, and his influence grew stronger every day. "Many old matters are ripped up and misinterpreted," wrote Van Ruyven to Stuyvesant in Holland, "but they are wisely disregarded by Governor Nicolls, so that a man remarked to me that it was the Governor's policy to follow the same course you had observed in the case of Governor Kieft."†

17 Aug't.
Prudence
of Nicolls.

On reaching London after his captivity, Cartwright had explained the condition of affairs in New York, and the duke had licensed two ships to sail thither with necessary supplies; but Nicolls could not yet be spared from his government. In very friendly terms Clarendon intimated to him that he might before long expect to return to England, "and then I hope some others will receive encouragement by your example to look a little abroad, and imploy themselves in doing good for their country." Secretary Morrice also wrote him a flattering letter on behalf of the king, and enclosed a present of two hundred pounds, which Nicolls gratefully received as given "at a time when money can be least spared."‡

12 April.
Nicolls
commend-
ed in En-
gland.

12 April.

Finding that it was useless to continue them in New England, the king, in gracious words, recalled his commissioners with "considerable gratuities." Letters expressing the royal approbation were likewise addressed to the submissive colonies of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Plymouth; but Massachusetts was ordered to send over Bellingham, Hathorne, and others, to answer for her to the king. Maverick and Carr, one, or both, were also directed to return as witnesses. These letters were sent under cover to the commissioners at Boston, where they were received by Maverick early in August. By order of Secretary Morrice, a duplicate of the one to Massachusetts, "signed and sealed,"

16 April.
Royal com-
missioners
recalled.

6 August.

* N. Y. Surrogate's Rec. Wills, I, 13-18; Val. Man., 1847, 354, 355, 356.

† Col. Doc., II, 473. Stuyvesant's policy had been to sustain the acts of his predecessor.

‡ Cf. *ante*, vol. I, 468, 469, 472.

* Col. Doc., II, 119, 126; Chalmers, I, 578; Ord., Warr., Lett., II, 87; Mass. H. S. Coll., LXVII, 312.



CHAP. III. was delivered the next month by Maverick to Governor Bellingham. But the General Court, "with an uncommon strain of dissimulation," affected to doubt its genuineness, notwithstanding a copy had been "surreptitiously conveyed over to them by some unknown hand before the

1666.

6 Septem.
Discrimination of Massachusetts.

11 Septem.

original came to Boston." An answer was addressed to Secretary Morrice, "in all humility" refusing to obey the royal directions; but, to avert the king's displeasure, a present of "two very large masts" for his navy was prepared at great expense, and sent to England, which it was hoped would prove "as a cloud of latter rain." The disobedience of the Puritan colony was rebuked by Nicolls, Carr, and Maverick, but without effect.*

3 Novem.

24 October.
Suggestions of Nicolls to the English government.

In writing to Secretary Morrice, Nicolls sharply reviewed the "false sophistry" of Massachusetts, and suggested that the king might "easily chastise their undutifulness, not by force, which might frighten the innocent as well as nocent, but by a temporary embargo upon their trade, 'till such and such persons are delivered into the hands of justice. The numerous well-affected people in that and other colonies would soon give up the ringleaders at His Majesty's disposal. Neither would His Majesty lose any of his customs by that embargo; for if strict care were taken to send a convenient number of ships with goods suitable to this port, all the trade of Boston would be brought hither, and from thence carried into England; in which case, a frigate of countenance for convoy or any emergent occasion would be necessary, if possibly to be supplied out of His Majesty's more immediate service. Indeed, in the posture we are, every small picaroon of the enemy's is master of all our harbors and rivers, from the Capes of Virginia to Piscataway."†

6 Novem.
Nicolls's report on New York.

At the same time, Nicolls sent to the British government an interesting autograph report of the condition of New York, in the form of "Answers to the several queries relating to the planters in the Territories of His Royal Highness the Duke of York in America." Among other things,

* Col. Doc., 131, 136, 136, 140, 141, 142, 160, 173; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxvii., 312-314; Chalmers, i., 149, 277, 290; Hutch., i., 253, 257, 546-548; Coll., 408-410; Mass. Rec., iv. (ii.), 314-318, 327; Col. Doc. Conn., ii., 514; R. I. Rec., ii., 149; Pepps, iii., 24; Bancroft, ii., 87-89; Barry, i., 400-404; Palfrey, ii., 606, 624-630.

† Col. Doc., ii., 473; iii., 136, 137; Ord., Warr., Lett., ii., 55; Chalmers, i., 578, 589; N. Y. H. S. Coll. (1809), 125-131, 157-159.



he explained that the governor and council, with the high-sheriff and justices in the Court of Assizes, "have the supreme power of making, altering, and abolishing any laws in this Government;" that "the tenure of lands is derived from His Royal Highness," who would grant them at rents of one penny an acre, when purchased by himself from the Indians, and of two shillings and sixpence for a hundred acres when so bought by the planters; that "liberty of conscience is granted and assured," provided the peace of the government be not disturbed; that the rate for public charges had been agreed to "in a General Assembly, and is now managed by the Governor, his Council, and the Justices in the Court of Assizes;" and that "the obtaining all these privileges is long since recommended to His Royal Highness as the most necessary encouragement to these his territories, whereof a good answer is expected."*

CHAP. III.
1666.

In the mean time, the war in Europe between England and Holland and France seriously affected the American colonies. Suspicious of the Canadians, Nicolls engaged Winthrop and the Connecticut magistrates to mediate with the Mahicans for a peace between them and the Mohawks. The king's letters of the 22d of February, directing hostilities against Canada, being now received, measures were taken to stir up the Mohawks to war with the French. Information soon afterward reached Nicolls that a large force was marching from Canada "towards Albany." The garrison at Esopus was at once ordered to strengthen that place. The governor also urged the authorities of Connecticut and Massachusetts to raise a cavalry expedition, which could "cut off the whole strength of Canada at once." Connecticut pleaded that all her hands were occupied in the harvest; and suggested that as she wished to promote peace between the Mohawks and the Mahicans, it would be well "to let the French and Mohawks try it out a while," by

June.

5 July.

6 July.
Proposed
attack of
Canada.

11 July.
Connecticut
refuses.

* Col. Doc., iii., 158; Chalmers, i., 596, 597; Whitehead's Index N. J. Col. Doc., 4. Chalmers says that Nicolls transmitted these answers in July, 1665. They are not dated, but they appear to have been sent by him in November, 1666, as they are placed in the volume by the State Paper Office next to his letter to the commissioners at Albany of 6 November, 1666; Col. Doc., iii., 136, 143, 158; New York Papers, i., 28, 30, 31. It was first intended that Mr. Robert Carr should convey these papers to England, and then that Maverick should, as neither had been ordered home. But both were "taken sick," and neither could go. Carr, however, sailed from Boston on 20 March, 1667, for Bristol, where he arrived on the 1st of June following, and died the next day: Col. Doc., iii., 160, 161; Hutch. Mass., i., 160; Merton's Mem., 315, note; Smith, i., 23; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxvii., 312, 313.



CHAP. III.

1666.

26 July.

September.

24 October.
Massachu-
setts re-
fused.25 October.
Privateers
commis-
sioned.23 May.
Submission
of the West-
ern Iro-
quois to the
French

which both would be weakened. Winthrop, however, learning from Baker at Albany that the French were endeavoring to gain the Mahicans, interfered so seasonably as to prevent the going over of "many hundred" expected auxiliaries. Horsemen were likewise sent out from Hartford and Springfield, who penetrated with great difficulty one hundred and twenty miles through the wilderness as far as Lake Champlain, "to discover the way toward Canada," and procure intelligence. Winthrop also went to Boston to consult with the Massachusetts authorities and Sir Thomas Temple, the Governor of Nova Scotia. It was there unanimously agreed "that at present there could be nothing done by these colonies in reducing those places at or about Canada." The General Court of Massachusetts notified Lord Arlington that the reduction of Canada was "not at present feazable, as well in respect of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of a land march over the rocky mountains and howling desarts about four hundred miles, as the strength of the French there, according to reports." Winthrop also wrote to the same effect. Privateers, however, were commissioned at Boston, which made prize of several French fishing vessels.*

On their side the French had not been idle. As soon as the Saint Lawrence was clear of ice, ten Seneca sachems came down to Quebec to ratify the treaty which the Onondagas had made in their behalf with Tracy the previous December. They now promised to send some of their families to settle in Canada as hostages, and to acknowledge the King of France "henceforth as their sovereign." Tracy, on his part, agreed to send French colonists and Jesuit missionaries to the Senecas, who stipulated to build cabins for their shelter and forts to protect them from "the common enemy the Andastes and others."†

Thus the Upper Iroquois confirmed their vassalage to France. But no overtures came from the Mohawks. Tracy now resolved to extend his permanent military occupation further to the south, and directed Captain La Motte to build a new fort on an island in the upper part of Lake

* Col. Doc., iii., 117, 120, 121, 127, 138, 141; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 40, 43, 45, 514; Mass. Rec., iv. (ii.), 316, 317, 328, 329; Mass. II. S. Coll., xviii., 101-109; xxx., 63; Hutch. Mass., i., 236, 237; Coll., 467; Bancroft, ii., 83; Palfrey, ii., 630; iii., 114-116; *ante*, p. 97.

† Col. Doc., iii., 125; ix., 44, 45; Doc. Hist., i., 47; Faillon, iii., 124; *ante*, p. 100, *note*.



Chauplain. This post, which was the first one possessed by the French within the ancient limits of New York, was named Fort Sainte Anne, but was afterward better known as Fort La Motte. Intended to command the Mohawk country, it soon caused uneasiness to the neighboring English colonies.*

CHAP. III.

1666.

Fort Sainte
Anne, or
La Motte.

Soon afterward Oneida envoys came to Quebec, tardily bringing the letter of the Albany officers assuring Tracy that the Mohawks wished peace with the French. Two detachments of two hundred men each had meanwhile been ordered to march, under Courcelles and Sorel, from the forts on the Richelieu, against that nation. Understanding the Albany letter as a guarantee for the good faith of the Mohawks, Tracy countermanded the expeditions, and signed a treaty covenanting peace between the French and the Oneidas and Mohawks. Prisoners were to be mutually restored, and trade with Canada by way of Lake Saint Sacrement was to be open to the Oneidas, who now ratified the treaty made two months before by the Western Iroquois, and, like them, acknowledged the King of France "from this time as their sovereign." It was also agreed that Jesuit missionaries should be sent "to make known to them the God of the French, whom they promise to love and adore." Hostages were left with Tracy for the faithful performance of these conditions. At the request of the Oneidas, the Father Thierry Bechefer, with Hertel and two other Frenchmen, were sent, under their escort, to visit the soldiers whom Courcelles had left at Albany, and treat with the Mohawks there, or assure them that they might safely come to Quebec at any time within forty days. The letter of the Albany authorities was also published at the several French garrisons; and all felt confident that peace between Canada and the Iroquois was secured.†

27 June.

7 July.

2, 13 July.

The Onei-
das and
Mohawks
agree to
submit to
the French.

14 July.

But scarcely had Bechefer and his companions gone three days' journey from Quebec, when news came that several French officers, who had gone out a hunting from

* Relation, 1665, 10; 1666, 7, 8; Doc. Hist., i., 43, 48; ii., 102; Col. Doc., iii., 141, 145, 146, 147, 148; iv., 195, 404; ix., 601, 1650; Faillon, iii., 126, 135. Fort Sainte Anne, or La Motte, seems to have been built on Isle La Motte, which, being east of the present boundary-line between New York and Vermont, belongs to the latter state; N. Y. Revised Statutes, i., 64.

† Col. Doc., iii., 126-132, 153; ix., 45, 46, 52, 160, 786; Doc. Hist., i., 47, 51, 52; Relation, 1666, 21; 1666, 7; 1670, 45; Charlevoix, ii., 110, 111, 155; Shea, 252, 500; ante, p. 104.



CHAP. III. the new Fort Sainte Anne, had been waylaid and murdered by the Mohawks, and some others taken prisoners. One of the chief victims was a nephew of the viceroy, the Sieur de Chazy, whose name is yet commemorated in that of one of the towns in the county of Clinton. Bechefer and the other Frenchmen on their way to Albany were at once recalled, and the Oneidas who escorted them were imprisoned. Sorel quickly collected three hundred men, with whom he pushed on toward the Mohawk country, intending to lay "a heavy hand every where." But when he had come within twenty leagues of their villages he met a party of Mohawks, who declared that they were on their way to Quebec to restore the Frenchmen captured near Fort Sainte Anne, and offer satisfaction for those who had been slain, as well as new guarantees for peace. The party was led by a half-breed known among the Indians as "Smits Jan," and among the French as "the Dutch Bastard."* Believing their statement, Sorel turned about, and conducted Smits Jan and his followers to the viceroy, by whom they were well received. A few days afterward, Agariata, a Mohawk chief, came to Quebec and announced himself as also a delegate from his nation. Negotiations for peace went on prosperously, until one day, Tracy having invited the two pretended ambassadors to his table, the talk fell upon the death of De Chazy. The Mohawk chief, lifting up his arm, exclaimed, "It was this which broke the head of that young officer!" All present were filled with indignation. "You shall kill no more," said the viceroy to Agariata, who was at once hung in the sight of his comrades, and Smits Jan was committed to prison.

Tracy's
vengeance.

23 July. Tracy now sent William Couture, who had been a prisoner with Jogues among the Mohawks, with a letter to the Albany officers, complaining that they had deceived him as to the peaceful disposition of that nation. Learning that a courier had come from Quebec, Nicolls voyaged up the river, which was "pleasant enough at that season of the year," to meet him. But before the governor reached Albany, Couture had returned to Canada. Nicolls, however,

Nicolls at
Albany.

* This "Smits Jan" was the son of a Hollander and a Mohawk squaw, and had been brought up among the savages. He was one of the witnesses to Cartwright's treaty at Albany in September, 1664, and was in the English interest: Col. Doc., iii., 68, 146, 148, 151, 435; Charlevoix, ii., 51, 69, 153, 161; Relation, 1654, 10, 11.



wrote courteously to Tracy, expressing his surprise at Courcelles's inroad into New York the last winter, but declaring his purpose to promote "the European interest amidst the heathen in America, as becomes a good Christian, provided that the bounds and limits of these His Majesty's of England's dominions be not invaded, or the peace and safety of his subjects interrupted." Baker and the Albany magistrates also wrote to the viceroy, justifying their conduct respecting the Mohawks, and stating that they would not intermeddle with French affairs in future.*

CHAP. III.
1666.
20 August.
Answers to Tracy.

Ambassadors from all the nations but the Mohawks having met Tracy and Courcelles in the Park of the Jesuits at Quebec, the Cayugas renewed their request for missionaries, and the Fathers Jacques Frémin and Pierre Raffeix were chosen to go to them. Seeing no reason to hope for peace with the Mohawks, the viceroy determined to chastise them effectually. Colbert had insisted upon a prudent administration "in the present conjuncture, when His Majesty is obliged to maintain a heavy war against the English, whom none of his predecessors had ever before attacked on the sea." Talon accordingly submitted to Tracy and Courcelles various considerations for war and for peace. It was argued, among other things, that a successful attack on the Mohawks would open the door for the seizure of Albany, where the Dutch might be found inclined to aid the French against the English, upon whom they wished "to avenge the usurpation unjustly committed upon them," and of whose "insupportable dominion" they were weary. An expedition against the Mohawks was ordered, and six hundred soldiers of the Carignan regiment, with an equal number of militia, and one hundred Hurons and Algonquins, were soon collected. Notwithstanding he was more than seventy years old, Tracy set out from Quebec to lead his forces in person. The Jesuit Fathers Charles Abanel and Pierre Raffeix, and two secular priests, Du

31 August.
Jesuit missionaries.

5 April.

1 September.

French expedition against the Mohawks.

14 September.

* C. I. Doc., iii., 63, 131-134, 146, 151, 153, 157; ix., 52; Doc. Hist., i., 47, 48, 56; Relations, 1645, 23; 1647, 19, 24; 1648, 11; 1666, 7, 8; La Potherie, ii., 86; Charlevoix, i., 49; C. I. Doc., 155, 156; Colden, i., 23, 24; Garneau, i., 193; Ferland, i., 317; Faillon, iii., 125-126; 1666, vol. i., 246, 347, 373. The Albany letters of 20 August, 1666, did not reach Tracy until April, 1667; C. I. Doc., iii., 146, 147, 148, 151, 152.



CHAR. III. Bois D'Esgriselles, and Dollier de Casson, accompanied the expedition.

1666.

3 October.

Tracy's ad-
vance.

The general rendezvous was Fort Sainte Anne, on Lake Champlain. It was October before the main body of troops was ready to advance; but Courcelles, with characteristic impatience, pushed forward with four hundred men. The rear-guard followed four days after the main column, under Tracy. Three hundred light bateaux and bark canoes were prepared, each of which could convey five or six persons; and two pieces of artillery were carried along with great labor. The viceroy endeavored to advance cautiously, so as to surprise the Mohawk castles; but the watchful Iroquois scouts on the mountain tops saw the French flotilla afar off, as it swept southward over Lake Champlain, and the alarm was quickly spread. As the troops debarked the savages whooped on the hill-sides, and fired random shots at the invaders. Expecting to find abundance of corn in the Mohawk villages, the French carried only small supplies of provisions. These were soon exhausted, and the army was on the point of disbanding to seek food, when it fortunately entered a forest of chestnut-trees, the just ripening fruit of which relieved the famishing troops.

Mohawk
villages de-
stroyed.

After marching thirty or forty leagues from the lake, the French reached the first Mohawk village, which they found abandoned. Entering it in order of battle, with flags flying and drums beating, the hungry army discovered abundance of corn buried in the earth. A second and a third village farther west were found deserted like the first. At length, guided by an Algonquin, who had long been a prisoner in the canton, the French reached the fourth Mohawk village. Here the savages were observed in great force, and, by their heavy fire, appeared disposed to defend their fortress with desperation. The invaders prepared to attack it in regular form; but, as their van came on to attack, the Mohawks fled in terror into the forest, whither the French could not pursue them. An old man and two old women, too infirm to escape, and the half-roasted remains of two or three prisoners, were found in the deserted stronghold. It was surrounded by a triple palisade twenty feet high, flanked by four bastions, and abundantly



supplied with water in bark tanks to extinguish fire. Pro- CHAP. III
 digious quantities of provisions had been stored. Some of 1666.
 the cabins, which were one hundred and twenty feet long,
 and proportionably wide, and were planked on the inside,
 moved the admiration of the Frenchmen.

The cross was planted, mass said, a Te Deum sung, and 17 October.
 formal possession was taken for the King of France of French pos-
 "The Fort of Andaraque," as well as all the other con- session of
 quered Iroquois strong-holds, "and of all the lands in the the country
 neighborhood as far and in as great a quantity as they may taken.
 extend." A post, with the king's arms affixed, was erect-
 ed, amid the shouts of "*Vive le Roi!*" The palisades and
 cabins, with vast stores of corn, beans, and other provisions,
 were then burned. On its return, the expedition completed
 the devastation of the other villages; and grain "enough to
 sustain the whole colony for two years" was destroyed.

Supposing that famine and the terror of the French arms
 would overawe the Mohawks and keep them peaceful,
 Tracy judged it unnecessary to establish a fort in their
 country. Those on the Richelieu River were thought suf-
 ficient to maintain the sovereignty of France. Colbert's
 policy was against extending the Canadian settlements too
 far from each other. For the present, the Jesuit mission-
 aries were to form the advanced guard of the French
 among the Mohawks. The viceroy would nevertheless
 have pushed on westward, and humbled the Oneidas also,
 if the approach of November had not warned him to re- Tracy re-
 turn. The paths were now much more difficult to travel, turned to
 and the swollen rivers hindered the march of the troops. Canada.
 On Lake Champlain two canoes and several soldiers were
 lost in a storm. Throughout the whole march of three
 hundred leagues, and during fifty-three days, Tracy, who
 was a very large man, shared all the fatigues of his army,
 submitting to be borne in a litter for two days only, when
 crippled by the gout. Courcelles, attacked by a nervous
 disease, had to be carried in the same manner. On reach-
 ing Quebec, the viceroy hung two or three of his prisoners November 6
 by way of example, and sent the rest back to their cantons,
 with Smits Jan, the Dutch bastard, after having shown
 them many kindnesses. The returning Iroquois carried
 the terms of peace which Tracy offered to the Mohawks,



CHAP. III. and which they were expected to accept before the end of the next June.*

1666. After their severe humiliation by the French, the Mohawks came to confer with the Albany officers. It was now supposed that Tracy, wearied with his "two fruitless

Precautions of Nicolls.

1667. voyages," would hardly attempt another expedition. Yet no precaution was neglected. Nicolls had visited the garrisons on the North River the previous autumn, and had given the Albany magistrates full directions in case the French should attempt to do them harm. Captain Brodhead was now ordered to be "ready, upon an hour's warning," with all his soldiers at Esopus, and as many of the burghers as possible, to assist Albany in case of need, because it was "impossible" to send any from New York during the winter. Van Curler was also desired to prepare a map of Lake Champlain, with the French forts, showing "how it borders upon the Maquas's River."†

7 January.

11 Jan.

Nicolls's instructions respecting the Mohawks.

When Nicolls received the news from Canada brought by Smits Jan, he directed that the Mohawks should be counseled to insist that the French must demolish all their new advanced forts on Lake Champlain. Baker was specially instructed to advise the Mohawks to "make a good peace, or none, with the French, such as may bring in beaver to Albany, and leave them without fear or jealousy of the French;" and also that they "should declare to the French that the King of England is the great king of all their country and parts adjacent, and unto him they are subordinate, living in peace and trading with all his subjects; and now they are willing to make peace with the French, and will resolve to keep it, if the French will demolish their forts, and bring no more troops of soldiers into the King of England's country or their Plantation."‡

On receiving the letters of Nicolls and the Albany officers written the previous August, Tracy explained the inroad of Courcelles into the Mohawk country, and declared

* Relation, 1666, S, 9; Charlevoix, ii., 157-161; La Potherie, ii., 123; iii., 55; Col. Doc., iii., 135, 145, 151; iv., 352; ix., 41, 52-57, 786; Doc. Hist., i., 48, 49, 53, 54; Colden, i., 33; Shea, 252; Faillon, iii., 138-155. The map of Tracy's route is in the Library of Parliament at Quebec: see Catalogue (1858), p. 1614.

† Col. Doc., iii., 143, 144, 145; Col. MSS., xxii., 22. The letters of Nicolls to Van Curler and the Albany magistrates were translated into Dutch, at the governor's request, by Counselor Van Ruyven.

‡ Col. Doc., iii., 146-148. Colden says nothing of this.



that until then he did not know that New Netherland was not under the dominion of the United Provinces. "The French nation," he added, "is too much inclined to acknowledge courtesies not to confess that the Dutch have had very much charity for the French who have been prisoners with the Mohawks, and that they have redeemed divers, who had been burned without their succour. They ought also to be assured of our gratitude towards them, and to any others who shall exercise such Christian deeds as they have done." The viceroy also absolved the Albany officers from blame in regard to the murder of his officers by the Mohawks near Fort Sainte Anne, and invited Van Curler to visit him the next summer at Quebec.*

Van Curler, accompanied by La Fontaine, a young Frenchman whom he had rescued from the savages, now went to Canada, with passports from Nicolls, who wrote a kind letter to Tracy. Embarking in a canoe on Lake Champlain, he had a prosperous voyage as far as "a great bay" on its western side, opposite the "Isles des quatres vents." While crossing this bay the canoe was upset by a tempest, and Van Curler was drowned. The memory of this estimable Hollander was long preserved by the Iroquois, who insisted upon calling the successive governors of New York "Corlaer." For years Lake Champlain was known among the English as "Corlaer's Lake." The bay in which he was drowned—long called by the French "Baye Corlar"—is now known as "Peru Bay," in Essex county, New York.†

Soon after Nicolls left Esopus, in the previous autumn, the ill feeling which had been growing between its inhabitants and the garrison broke out into open hostility. The soldiers, who, as well as their officers, were all Englishmen, did nothing to conciliate and much to offend the Dutch burghers. Disturbances occurred both at the village of Wildwyck and at the redoubt on the creek. When, in obedience to Nicolls's orders, Captain Brodhead was "gathering some of the young burghers together" to go to Albany, Antonio d'Elba, a French refugee, openly said, "Shall we go and fight our friends, and leave our enemies at home?"

CHAP. III.

1667.

30 April.
Tracy
writes to
Nicolls.28 May.
Van Curler
goes to
ward Can-
ada.Drowned
in Lake
Cham-
plain.

"Corlaer."

Disturb-
ances at
Esopus.

* Col. Dec. H. 123, 124, 150-154; Dec. Hist., I., 55; ante, vol. I., 402.

† Map in Charlevoix, I., 226; Hist., 1668, 5; Osh. Warr., etc., II., 153, 160; Col. Dec. H., 123, 124, 157, 322, 325, 553, 559, 515, 517; Colden, I., 32; O'Call., I., 320; Smith, I., 65.



CHAP. III. Much of the ill feeling was due to the overbearing conduct of Brodhead, who did not hesitate to commit to the guard any who offended him. He imprisoned a burgher who would keep Christmas according to the Dutch and not the English style. He quarreled with and arrested Cornelis Barentsen Slegt, the village brewer, and a sergeant of its militia. Slegt's wife and children thereupon ran crying through Wildwyck. The excited villagers rushed to arms. Finding some sixty of them drawn up before their lieutenant's door, Captain Brodhead marched thither with a few of his soldiers, and ordered them to disperse. The local magistrates asked Brodhead to release his prisoner and have him tried before them, which he refused, and threatened to resist any attempt at a rescue. The people would not disperse until late at night, and then only with the understanding that the whole matter should be laid before the governor. What added to the bitterness was that Hendrick Cornelissen, the village ropemaker, was killed by William Fisher, one of Brodhead's soldiers.*

1667.
Brodhead's
overbear-
ing con-
duct.
14 Feb.

16 April.
Special
commis-
sion sent to
Esopus.

Nicoll's
private in-
structions.

Reports were sent down to Nicolls, who issued a special commission empowering Counselors Needham and Delavall and Justice Van Ruyven to go to Esopus, and "hear, receive, and determine such and so many complaints as they shall judge necessary or of moment, and to pass sentence of imprisonment, fine, correction, or suspension of office against such who shall be found guilty." At the same time the governor guided the action of his commissioners by private instructions. They were to be attended by a file of soldiers, and were to admit but "very few" into the room in which they might sit. The case of Fisher was "to be the first tried, because a man is killed." But he could only be convicted of manslaughter; and it might turn out that he had acted in self-defense. In regard to the "first occasion" of the mutiny, as Slegt, the brewer, had first assaulted Captain Brodhead, they were "to declare that the king's officer is not of so mean a quality as to be struck by a burgher," and were to enlarge their discourse on this point as they should "find fit." But as the captain had broken his instructions several times, they were to suspend him

* Col. MSS., xxii., 14, 21-22; Alb. Rec., xviii., 327-330, 470; Esopus Records; Col. Doc., iii., 144, 149.



from his command for "that only fault" of keeping the brewer in prison after the schout and commissaries had asked for his release. A few of the "most notorious" insurgents were to be found guilty of "a treasonable and malicious Riot," and were to be brought to New York for "final sentence of punishment" by the governor. "Discourage not the soldiers too much in public," added Nicolls, "lest the boors insult over them; appear favorable to the most of the boors, but severe against the principal incendiaries; and, in general, you may tell them freely that I will proceed against every man that shall lift arms against His Majesty's garrison, as rebellious subjects and common enemies."*

CHAP. III.

1667.

The commissioners sat three days at Esopus. Captain Brodhead frankly admitted the charges against him, and was suspended from his command, which was intrusted to Sergeant Beresford. The burghers excused their being in arms because the soldiers had threatened to burn the town, and because Brodhead had imprisoned their sergeant. Four of the movers of the insurrection, Antonio d'Elba, Albert Heymans, Arent Albertsen, his son, and Cornelius Barentsen, were found guilty of a "rebellious and mutinous Riot," and were carried down to New York for sentence by the governor. Nicolls was of opinion that they deserved death. But, on the petition of the inhabitants and by the advice of his council, he sentenced Heymans to be banished for life out of the government, and the others, for shorter terms, out of Esopus, Albany, and New York. These sentences were afterward modified; and Heymans, the chief offender, became a prominent officer at Esopus.†

25 April.
26 April.
27 April.
Brodhead
suspend-
ed.

3 May.
Chief riot-
ers sen-
tenced.

The soldiers at Albany also gave the governor much trouble. Several of them were convicted of stealing wampum from the inhabitants, and, upon Captain Baker's report, Nicolls, with the advice of his council, decreed prompt satisfaction.‡

Soldiers at
Albany.

* Patents, i, 145; Col. Doc., iii, 149, 150.

† Col. MSS., xxii, 24, 28, 31, 32, 99; N. Y. Surr. Rec. Wills, i., 22-28; Val. Man., 1847, 357, 358; Col. Doc., ii, 627; iii, 150; Ulster Hist. Coll., i., 50, 51; Esopus Records. Fisher, the soldier who killed Cornelissen, appears to have been acquitted, and afterward obtained a lot of land at Marbletown: Val. Man., 1847, 361; Patents, iii, 43. Captain Brodhead died at Esopus on the 14th of July, 1667, about two months after his suspension from command, leaving his widow, Ann, and three sons, Daniel, Charles, and Richard.

‡ The details of these cases are given in N. Y. Surrogate's Records, Wills, i., 19, 20, 21, 22; Val. Man., 1847, 356, 357, 361.



CHAP. III.

Discontent was still manifested in Long Island. While the governor was attending "a public meeting" at Flushing, he offered to furnish the people with powder for their own use, and receive pay for it in firewood. This friendly proposition was covertly represented by William Bishop as "another cunning trick." It was accordingly ordered in Council at New York, that for his "seditious words" Bishop should "be made fast to the whipping-post, there to stand, with rods fastened to his back during the sitting of the Court of Mayor and Aldermen, and from thence to be removed into the common Gaol, till further orders." This sentence seems to have effectually quelled sedition during the rest of Nicolls's administration.*

1667.
3 July.
Long
Island.

9 July.
William
Bishop
punished
for sedi-
tion.

1666.
6 April.
Dutch of-
fers to En-
gland.

Meanwhile England had been at open war with Holland and France. But before France engaged in hostilities she made another attempt to pacify England and Holland. A conference was held at Paris between Lord Hollis, De Lionne, and Van Beuningen, in which the latter offered, on the part of the States General, "either to restore all things to the same state they were in before the war, or to take them as they now stand, and every one keep what he hath." But neither of these alternatives suited Charles, who directed his ambassador to leave Paris.†

1 June.
Battle be-
tween the
Dutch and
English.

Chain-
shot.

The Dutch
victorious.

Another naval engagement followed off the mouth of the Thames, between the English fleet under Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle, in place of the Duke of York, who refused to command, and the Dutch under De Ruyter, Evertsen, and Tromp. The contest lasted four days, and the English Vice-Admiral Sir John Berkeley and other officers were killed. Both sides fought with proverbial courage; but the chain-shot which De Witt is said to have invented, and now introduced, cut to pieces the rigging of the English, and the Dutch remained conquerors. They had never gained such a triumph since the foundation of the republic. In London, "orders were given for

* N. Y. Surr. Rec. Wills, l. 28, 29; Val. Man., 1847, 359, 360. On the third of July, 1657, the mayor and aldermen of the city of New York, with the approbation of Nicolls, sold to Johannes Verwehe, of Harlaem, for five years, the ferry thence to Bronck side, provided he maintained proper ferry houses, and carried over free "all men going or coming with a packet from our Governor of New York, or coming from the Governor of Connecticut." Val. Man., 1849, 562; N. Y. City Rec.

† D'Estrades, iv., 167, 253, 257, 263, 276, 524; Lister's Clarendon, iii., 431-434; De Witt, ii., 253, 255.



bonfires and bells." But even Charles became "melancholy," wrote Pepys in his cipher diary, "under the thoughts of this last overthrow, for so it is, instead of a victory." A month afterward the fleets engaged again. On this occasion the English were victorious. Evertsen and other Dutch admirals were killed, and De Ruyter and Tromp became bitter enemies. The next week Sir Robert Holmes made a piratical descent on the island of Schelling, on the coast of Friesland, which was chiefly inhabited by unwarlike Mennonists, and, after burning several Dutch merchantmen, destroyed nearly a thousand houses in the unfortified town of Brandaris. The Tower guns at London were fired for this "late good success." But the English government could send no supplies to the American Plantations, and especially to the Carribee Islands, which were exposed to great danger from the French. Arlington therefore urged the New England colonies to fit out, if possible, an expedition for the relief of those threatened places, which would be considered by the king as a marked expression of their "good affection and loyalty."

CHAP. III.

1666.

25 July.
4 August.
Another battle.
The English victorious.

Holmes at Schelling.

28 August.

September.
Fire of London.

Dryden's "Annus mirabilis."

1667.
January.

In Holland, the conduct of Holmes at Schelling embittered the national resentment against England. De Witt, who felt the unpopularity which threatened to overthrow his administration, vowed that he would never sheathe the sword until he had obtained revenge. But before his vow was fulfilled, London was visited by a calamity scarcely less appalling than the pestilence by which she had been desolated the year before. A great fire, which lasted for three days, consumed every house, church, and hall in ninety parishes, between the Tower and Temple Bar. This "marvellous year" was commemorated by Dryden in magnificent verses, full of bitterness against the Dutch, which before long won for him the laurel crown.*

When the news tardily reached the North American colonies by way of Barbadoes, Massachusetts set the example in contributing for the relief of the sufferers. Not

* Aitzema, v., 637-731; Basnage, i., 772-784; Kennett, iii., 250-262; Clarke's James II., i., 423, 424; Burnet, i., 228-252; Rapin, ii., 642, 643; Pepys, ii., 391, 431, 433, 439-448; Evelyn, ii., 6, 11-17; D'Estrades, iv., 322, 402, 452; Davies, iii., 45-54; Martin, i., 273, 274; Dryden's *Annus mirabilis*; Lister, ii., 360-365; Knight, iv., 279-290; Col. Doc., ii., 661; iii., 247, 254; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 66; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 515, 516. Dryden's patent as poet laureate was dated 18 August, 1670, but his salary began immediately after the death of Sir William Davenant, his predecessor, in 1668.



CHAP. III.

1667.

March.
Colonial
apprehen-
sions.

7 May.

June.

long afterward, upon the receipt of Arlington's letters, Winthrop went from Connecticut, and Maverick from New York, to consult with the authorities at Boston in regard to sending aid to the Carribee Islands. But there was too much danger to be apprehended near home, both from Canada, and from the Dutch and French ships at sea, to justify an expedition for the relief of the "dear countrymen" in the West Indies. This was communicated by Winthrop to Arlington in a very loyal letter excusing the apparent indifference of the New England colonies. Maverick also informed the secretary that such were the straits to which Nicolls had been reduced for want of supplies in New York, that he had been obliged to pledge his personal credit for more than a thousand pounds, to carry on his government.*

6 March.
Krynssen
takes Suri-
nam.June.
Krynssen
in Virgi-
nia.

The apprehensions of the English that the Dutch and French might attack their West India colonies were well founded. Commander Abraham Krynssen, sailing from Flushing with three ships, surprised the English colony of Surinam, in Guiana, and left a military force to secure it, under the command of Maurice de Rame, and Ensign Colve. Not long afterward, a frigate belonging to the Duke of York, coming from Guinea with a cargo of ivory and negroes, was captured by the Dutch at Surinam. Krynssen had meanwhile joined the French squadron commanded by Lefebvre de la Barre, and assisted in defeating the English off the island of Nevis. Thence the Dutch commander sailed to Virginia, where he captured, in the James River, twenty-six English vessels, one of which was a man-of-war. After scuttling most of them, Krynssen returned to Flushing, bringing along with him eleven prizes laden with tobacco.†

This daring exploit so near home alarmed and mortified Nicolls, who attributed it to the "negligence and ill conduct" of the officers in Virginia. Every precaution was therefore taken for the defense of New York. The magistrates of Southampton, Easthampton, and the other towns

* Col. Doc., iii., 154-156, 161; Hutch. Mass., i., 250, 257; Coll., 411, 412; Mass. Rec., iv. (ii.), 310, 311, 315, 317, 347; Palfrey, ii., 631.

† Wagenaar, xiii., 496-498; Richesse de la Hollande, i., 213; Basnage, i., 809; D'Estades, v., 83, 250, 261, 262; De Witt, iv., 642, 677; Atzena, vi., 123, 426-428, 433, 440; Burk, ii., 149; Campbell, 267; Pinkerton, xii., 292; Col. Doc., ii., 518-522; iii., 155, 161, 167; ix., 167; N. Y. Senate Doc., 1844, No. 42, p. 5.



at the east end of Long Island were ordered to turn one third of their militia into cavalry, and to be ready at an hour's notice; while the other two thirds were to remain at their homes for the security of their estates. Connecticut, fearing a French incursion from Canada, did the like. But "the grandees of Boston were too proud to be dealt with," alleging that the king was well satisfied of their loyalty, and had recalled and disgraced his commissioners. Nicolls, however, anxious to harass the enemy, commissioned Sergeant Thomas Exton, of the garrison at Fort James, to be captain of the privateer Cedar, of New York, and sent her under his command to act against the French and Dutch. Exton soon captured and burnt two French forts, Saint Mary and Du Coudray, in Acadia, and came to Boston with "as many guns and other plunder" as his ship could carry. On reaching New York, Exton reported his proceedings, and the spoil he had taken was condemned as good prize.*

In their war against the Mahicans during the summer, the Mohawks had committed some depredations at Hadley and Northampton, in Massachusetts, and had murdered a young savage, whose scalp they exhibited at Albany. The victim "was servant to an Englishman at Northampton." On learning this outrage, Nicolls went to Albany to interpose his authority with the native belligerents. The General Court of Massachusetts, however, conceiving that they could treat independently with the New York Iroquois, wrote to "the chief sachem of the Mohawks" that such doings were contrary to their promise not to molest any Indians "that wore English cloakes, or that had their haire cutt short;" and hoping for satisfaction and better behavior in future.†

The war in Europe had meanwhile obliged Louis to recall Tracy to France, with several companies of the Carignan regiment. These orders surprised the viceroy, who was expecting Van Curler to visit him at Quebec, and was obliged to embark just as his coming guest was meeting his death on Lake Champlain. Courcelles was now left in command as governor general of Canada. The

CHAP. III.

1667.

19 July.

Precautions of

Nicolls.

30 July.

New York

privateer

in Acadia.

14 October.

4 Novem.

30 August.

10 October.

Nicolls at

Albany.

Tracy

leaves

Canada.

May.

Courcelles

governor

* Col. Doe., iii., 157, 158, 161, 162, 167; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 63, 81; Val. Man., 1847, 375.

† N. Y. Surv. Rec. Wills, i., 16, 35; Patents, i., 171, 172; Court of Assizes, ii., 154, 155. I

do not find any reference in the French authorities to Exton's exploits in Acadia.

† Col. Doe., iii., 162; Relations, 1667, 28; 1668, 4; Mass. Rec., iv. (ii.), 559-561.



CHAP. III. king had approved the treaties made with the Western
 1667. Iroquois the year before, because he expected thereby "to
 acquire a possession adverse to the actual or future pretensions of the European nations." But, as the Mohawks had

6 April.

shown no disposition to submit to the French, Colbert directed Courcelles to undertake a new expedition against that nation during the next summer, "for the purpose of utterly destroying them if possible, or at least of increasing the terror they entertain of His Majesty's forces, and placing them in a position not to trouble the country."

June.
 Mohawks
 and Oneidas
 at
 Quebec.

Courcelles had "a sufficiently strong inclination to return to the charge." But, a few days after the viceroy's departure, Mohawk and Oneida deputies came to Quebec to declare their submission to the French, and solicit that missionaries might be sent to their cantons. The Canadian expeditions the year before had so awed these proud nations that, in spite of the efforts of Nicolls and his officers at Albany, they showed their sincerity by bringing several of their families to Canada as hostages. Talon, suspecting that the Mohawks had "yielded considerably to existing circumstances, and to the war with the Mahicans, from which they were suffering," thought that they had not brought hostages enough. But, as Colbert desired to "Frenchify" the savages, a treaty was concluded to the apparent satisfaction of both parties. Jesuit missionaries were at once selected to go among the several Iroquois nations. The Father Jacques Frémin, who had been with Dablon at Onondaga in 1656, and the Father Jean Pierron, who had just arrived from France, were assigned to the Mohawks. Father Jacques Bruyas, who had been about a year in Canada, and had already given proof of that talent which was to make him so distinguished as an Indian philologist, was appointed to go to the Oneidas. Three other Jesuit fathers held themselves ready to work among the Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas.*

Missionaries assigned to the Iroquois.

14 July.
 Frémin,
 Pierron,
 and Bruyas.

The next month the Mohawk and Oneida envoys set out with Frémin, Pierron, and Bruyas for their mission grounds. On reaching Fort Sainte Anne, at the foot of Lake Cham-

* Relation, 1657, 9; 1657, 2, 28; 1663, 3; Charlevoix, ii., 161, 163, 164, 176, 178; Col. Doc., iii., 151, 152; ix., 53, 59, 60, 139, 729, 787; Doc. Hist., iv., 190; Shea, 254, 274, 294, 590; Garneau, i., 195; Faillon, iii., 156-158; *ante*, vol. i., 644.



plain, they were delayed a month by apprehension of a CHAP. III.
 Mahican ambushade. At length, on the eve of Saint Bar-
 tholomew's day, finding that the Mahicans had retreated, 1667.
 the party embarked, and followed the north coast of the 22 August.
 lake. From morning to night, the fathers, unused to the
 toil, rowed "like poor galley-slaves," for every hand in the
 light birch-bark canoes was obliged to work. In this man-
 ner they "traversed gaily the whole of this great lake,
 already too renowned by the shipwreck of several of our
 Frenchmen, and quite recently by that of the Sieur Cor-
 laer." On reaching the outlet of Saint Sacrement* they
 crossed the portage, and at the head of the lake met four-
 teen Mohawk warriors, who were stationed there as senti-
 nels to watch for a new army of Frenchmen. But, on
 learning the peaceful errand of the missionaries, they
 "made themselves their valets," and joyfully carried their
 luggage. A few days of pleasant journeying brought the
 party near the first palisaded village of the Tortoise tribe
 of the Mohawks, on the north bank of the river, "called
 Gandaouagne,† which is that which the late Father Jogues Gandaou-
agne, or
Caghnawaga.
G¹.
 moistened with his blood, and where he was so badly treat-
 ed during eighteen months of captivity." The missionaries
 were received with all honor by the savages, who were de-
 lighted to see among them peaceful Frenchmen in place
 of those who so recently appeared "as furies, setting every
 thing on fire." Two leagues further to the west they came
 to the village called "Gandagaro," or "Kanagaro," belong-
 ing to the Bear tribe.‡ Thence they proceeded four leagues
 more, passing beyond Canajoharie, to the village of the Wolf
 tribe, and the capital of all the Mohawk country, called
 "Tionmontoguen,"§ which that nation "had rebuilt at a

Tionmontoguen.

* This was called by the Indians "Tionderoga," meaning in their language "the place where two rivers meet." The French called it "Carillon," on account of the noise of the waterfall in the outlet: see Benson's Mem., 96. The English called it "Ticnderoga": see Col. Doc., vii., 359, 795, 984: x., 721; ante, vol. i., p. 18, note.

† Relation, 1668, 6; 1670, 23. This village, called "Oneuigioué" by Jogues, and "Kagh-
 teague" by the Dutch, was the site of the modern village of "Caghnawaga," in the county
 of Montgomery: Relation, 1646, 15; Col. Doc., ii., 712. Want of taste has recently belittled
 this sonorous, significant, and historical name into "Fonda." see Hist. Mag., ix., 371, 372;
 z., 30, 115, 321, 322. The word "Caghnawaga" (which was afterward transferred to the
 Catholic "Reduction" on the Saint Lawrence, near Montreal) means, in the Mohawk lan-
 guage, "the Rapids," or "a carrying place." Col. Doc., ii., 712; iii., 250, note; Index, 282;
 Amer. Hist., iii., 674; N. Y. H. S. Coll., iii. (ii.), 159, 171; Shea's Catholic Missions, 256, 264;
 Antiqued. i., 422, 659. ‡ Col. Doc., ii., 712; iii., 250.

§ This village seems to have been not far from Fort Plain, or Palatine. It was removed,
 in 1659, "an English mile higher up," and was again burned by the French in 1655: Doc.



CHAP. III. quarter of a league from that which the French had burned the year before." It was situated on a hill, about a
 1667. bowshot from the north bank of the Mohawk River. Like Caghnawaga, the capital was "double-stockaded round;" and it contained about thirty cabins. Here the missionaries were received with a grand fusillade, "each one firing from his cabin, and two swivels going off at the extremities of the village."

14 Septem. On the day of the exaltation of the Holy Cross, the six Mohawk villages assembled at Tionnontoguen, and were harangued by Frémin, after the *Veni Creator* had been chanted. Having reproached them for their cruelties to the French, the father declared that their Great Onontio would receive them as his subjects. To enforce his speech, Frémin planted a tall pole, at the top of which was a wampum belt, and explained that the first Iroquois who should kill a Frenchman would be thus hung. The awed savages offered a place for a chapel; mass was soon celebrated in the rude building, at which all had worked with zeal; and the Mission of Saint Mary of the Mohawks was established.*

Mission of Saint Mary of the Mohawks.
 Bruyas at Saint Francis Xavier of the Oneidas.
 29 Septem. Leaving Frémin and Pierron among the Mohawks, Bruyas now went thirty leagues farther west to found a new mission among the Oneidas, who were esteemed "of all the Iroquois the least numerous in fact, but the most proud and insolent." A small chapel, quickly built by the savages, was consecrated on the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel. Here Bruyas labored diligently; but the Mission of Saint Francis Xavier of the Oneidas never answered French hopes.†

13 Septem. The Jesuits soon found that the strong liquors which were sold to the savages by their European neighbors greatly hindered conversions. Pierron therefore asked an interview with the English authorities. Nicolls, who was

Hist., ii., 50, 88; Col. Doc., iv., 16, 82. A note in Col. Doc., ix., 762, erroneously states that Tionnontoguen (which was on the north side of the Mohawk, and several leagues west of Caghnawaga) was the site of Fort Hunter, which was built in 1712, on the south side of the river, east of Caghnawaga, at the mouth of the Schoharie Creek. The note appears to confound "Tionnontoguen" with "Tionnonderege," the castle of the "Praying Marquis," which was built in 1660, and was the site of Fort Hunter: compare Col. Doc., iii., 163, 250, 483, 559, 565, 771, 772; iv., 16, 61, 81, 82, 291; v., 279, 280, 349, 572, 960; vi., 15, 16; vii., 577; ix., 550, 558; x., 677; Doc. Hist., i., 340; ii., 59, 88; iii., 543, 631; Munsell's Annals, ii., 67, 93, 99, 168; post, 583.

* Relation, 1667, 48; 1668, 4-13; 1670, 23; N. Y. H. S. Coll., iii. (H.), 159; Col. Doc., ii., 712; iii., 163, 259; Shea, 154-158.

† Relation, 1668, 13-16; Shea, 259, 275.



then at Albany, invited the father to meet him at Schenectady, and a pleasant conference followed. The French missionary did not fail to acknowledge that the kindness he had received among the Dutch at Schenectady had kindled a friendship which "diversity of religion should not quench." Leaving Frémin alone at Tionnontoguen, Pierron then returned to Quebec, which he did not reach until early the next year.*

CHAT. III.
1667.
20 Octob'r.
Pierron
meets Nic-
olls at
Schenecta-
dy.
6 Novem.

Meanwhile there had been little direct intercourse between England and her North American colonies. The only vessel that had reached New York for many months was Sir William Davison's ship, the "Orange Tree," which came from Hamburg under the king's special license. Necessaries of all kinds grew very scarce; and, although rumors came by way of Bilboa and Fayal that peace had been concluded between England and France, it was feared that "some extraordinary disaster" had befallen the king. In writing to Lord Arlington, Nicolls reported the military precautions he had taken during the summer, and with just pride in New York, observed that "when His Majesty is truly informed how advantageously we are posted by situation to bridle his enemies and secure all his good subjects, I humbly presume to think that His Majesty would afford much of countenance and regard unto us, notwithstanding that His Majesty hath granted the whole tract to His Royal Highness."†

Want of
supplies in
New York.
12 Novem.
Nicolls's
report to
Arlington.

There was, indeed, reason to apprehend that some great disaster had happened to the King of England. He had expressed his desire to make peace with the Dutch, and the States General had renewed their offers of reciprocal restitution or retention of all that either had taken before or during the war. At the suggestion of Charles, plenipotentiaries were appointed on each side to negotiate at Breda.‡

1666.
10 Septem.
1667.
13 March.
Plenipotenti-
aries at
Breda.

In the mean time Stuyvesant had reached the Hague, and presented to the States General his report of the surrender of New Netherland. This having been referred to

1665.
19 Octob'r.

* Relation, 1663, 12, 13, 62; Col. Doc., III., 162, 163; Renss. MSS. in O'Call., I., 337, 338; *ibid.*, 358, 359.

† Col. Doc., III., 162, 167; Ord., Warr., Lett., II., 165, 166.

‡ *Antennæ*, v., 724, 725, 750-756; vi., 4, 9, 12, 236-239; D'Estrades, iv., 391, 469, 515, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523; Basnage, i., 790, 801; Lister's Clarendon, ii., 368-374; iii., 442, 453; Ray, i., 614; Courtois's Temple, i., 93, 112; Martin, i., 276; Pepys, iii., 66, 67, 72, 85, 94; *ibid.*, 78, 93, 96, 124.



CHAP. III.

1666.

11 Jan'y.
Stuyvesant
and the W.
I. Co.
2 April.

17 April.

29 October.
Stuyve-
sant's re-
ply.

17 August.

1667.

12 March.
The W. I.
Company's
rejoinder.

25 March.
The impor-
tance of
New Neth-
erland.

the West India Company, they insisted that their late director had not done his duty, and prayed the States to disapprove of "the scandalous surrender of the aforesaid country, and consider such example detrimental to the state." Stuyvesant urged that his case should be promptly decided, so that he might return to New Netherland, and bring back to Holland "his sorrowful wife and family, with his property." The States General, however, required him to answer the objections of the West India Company. After six months' delay, in order to procure additional testimony from New York, Stuyvesant submitted an able vindication of his conduct, supported by proofs. Among others was a letter from his former subordinate, Van Ruyven, "still the Company's resident and agent" in New York, and, at the same time, high in the confidence of Nicolls. "I can not myself imagine," wrote the late secretary of New Netherland to his old chief, "on what pretext the loss of the country can be laid to your charge. Was not every possible effort used for its preservation? And was not its dangerous and ruinous condition notified, and assistance for redress solicited? and was it not protested that otherwise every thing would be lost? Certainly yes; not once, nor one year, but for several years, and by almost every ship. What more can be demanded from a Governor?"*

In a long and petulant rejoinder, the West India Company labored to shift the responsibility for the loss of New Netherland from themselves to Stuyvesant. But it was now useless to prolong discussion. The States General had offered to Charles the alternative of reciprocal restitution or retention of conquests as the basis of a treaty. They had triumphantly established the Dutch title to New Netherland against the asserted claims of England, but they could not make its restitution the only condition of peace.

Finding how the case stood, the West India Directors represented to their High Mightinesses that they had reared New Netherland "like a foster child," at an "excessive expense," for forty-six years, and urged that its restitution by England should be insisted upon. To this was appended a memorial from many prominent merchants of Holland, setting forth the importance of regaining New Neth-

* Col. Doc., ii., 361-373, 419-425, 427-438; ante, p. 60, note.



erland, possessed by the Dutch for nearly half a century CHAP. III.
 "by a just and indisputable title," and "inhabited by more
 than eight thousand souls, consisting of about fifteen hun-
 dred families, all natives and subjects of this state, who
 went thither formerly to gain a livelihood and to settle, on
 a promise of being sustained and protected." Its restora-
 tion by treaty was urged, "the rather that in case the afore-
 said country be left to and remain in the power and hands
 of the English nation, it could gain and obtain therefrom,
 in time of war, considerable advantages over this state and
 its inhabitants, as well because it will be able to draw and
 receive thence, and therefore from its own lands and colo-
 nies, almost all the wares which, being necessary for its
 equipments, it has hitherto been obliged to obtain from the
 Baltic, as that, whenever it shall possess and be master of
 nearly the entire northern part of America (for the French
 will be illy able to hold Canada against that nation), it can,
 without people here in Europe having the least knowledge
 of the circumstance, fit out a considerable fleet of large and
 small ships there, * * * whereby said English nation then
 would found, and extend considerably, its pretended do-
 minion over the sea."^{*}

1667.

But these statesmanlike arguments were now too late.
 Charles accepted the alternative which he pretended the 12 April
 States General had proposed, "namely, that each party
 should remain in the possession of all things which had
 been acquired on one side or the other during this war."
 On the other hand, the States instructed their ambassadors 5 May. Negotiations at Breda.
 at Breda to adhere to their offer actually made on the
 sixteenth of the previous September, namely, "that it be
 left to His Majesty's choice to make peace by a reciprocal
 restitution, on both sides, of what is seized by force of arms
 or detained from the other, either before or after the com-
 mencement of the war; or else that the one party retain
 what it hath taken by force of arms, or otherwise seized
 from the other, as well before as after the commencement
 of the war." The plenipotentiaries were also directed to
 procure, if possible, from the King of France, the cession
 to the republic of some of the colonies which he had taken
 from the English, as some equivalent for the relinquish-

* Col. Doc., ii., 491-515; Res. Holl., 1667, 129, 133.



ment of New Netherland by the Dutch, which sacrifice Louis had first suggested.*

1667. By this time the real importance of New York had become better appreciated by the European powers which were chiefly interested in its fate. From Quebec, Talon

1666.
13 Novemb.
Talon
wishes
France to
gain New
Nether-
land.

had suggested to Colbert that Louis should, after an arrangement with the Dutch government, procure the cession from England of New Netherland to himself, by which means he "would have two entrances into Canada, and would thereby give the French all the peltries of the North—of which the English have now partly the advantage, by means of the communication with the Iroquois which they possess by Manatte and Orange—and would place those barbarous tribes at His Majesty's discretion; who could, moreover, approach New Sweden when he pleased, and hold New England confined within its limits." This idea

1667. Talon reiterated the next year; but Colbert was obliged to content himself with directing the subjugation of the Iroquois by the French. Louis, now engaged in active hostilities in the Spanish Netherlands, could do nothing to obtain the cession of New York either from Holland or England, and limited his efforts to regaining Acadia, which Cromwell had wrested from France.†

20 May. A difficult point soon occurred at Breda. The Dutch offer was craftily misstated by Charles, and the negotiations were delayed. Observing this, De Witt, who could not forget his vow to avenge the outrage which the English had perpetrated the year before at Schelling, thought that the time had come for a memorable retaliation. The large sums voted by Parliament for the fleet had been squandered by the king on his unworthy favorites, and most of the English ships were laid up in ordinary. The Grand Pensionary accordingly dispatched De Ruyter and Cornelis de Witt to the Thames. Sheerness and the dock-yard at Chat-

The Dutch
in the
Thames.

12th June. ham were surprised; several of the finest vessels in the English navy were burned; and the "Royal Charles," which had brought back the restored king in triumph from Scheveningen, was carried off as the chief prize of the Dutch

* D'Estrades, v., 155, 241; Aitzema, vi., 27-31; Sec. Res. Holl., ii., 528-552; Col. Doc., ii., 516, 517; Rapin, ii., 645; Martin, i., 275; Courtenay's Temple, i., 109; *ante*, p. 131.

† Col. Doc., ix., 56, 57, 58, 60; D'Estrades, v., 181, 208, 250, 323, 344.



avengers.* London was deprived of its supplies, and threatened for several weeks by the blockading Hollanders, who, had they been better informed of the condition of the capital, and acted with prompt vigor, might from the White Tower have dictated their own terms of peace to the fugitive sovereign at Windsor. While his ships were burning at Chatham, Charles was gayly supping with his parasites at Whitehall, and all were "mad in hunting of a poor moth." But the nation felt, with Evelyn, that Englishmen had suffered "a dishonor never to be wiped off." Well might Nicolls, at New York, after waiting the whole summer for a ship from England, apprehend that "some extraordinary disaster" had befallen his majesty.†

CHAP. III

1667.
Fright in
London.

12 Novem.

De Witt's galling success in the Thames had a marvelous effect at Breda. The English ambassadors agreed to the principle that each party should retain the places it had occupied, and Charles was obliged to recede from his position and accept the terms insisted upon by the Dutch. A treaty between England and Holland was soon concluded. By the third article it was stipulated that "each of the said parties shall hold and possess in future, in perfect right of sovereignty, propriety, and possession, all such countries, islands, towns, forts, places, and colonies, and so many as each, whether during this war or before, in whatever time it may have been, shall have taken and retained from the other, by force and by arms, or in whatever manner it may have been, and that in the same manner as they shall have occupied and possessed them on the $\frac{1}{20}$ th of May last, none of the said places excepted." The same day another treaty was signed between France and England, by which Acadia was restored to Louis, in exchange for Antigua, Montserrat, and a part of Saint Christopher's.‡

Effect at
Breda.
30 June.

31 July.
Treaty
made.

Acadia re-
stored to
France.

By the treaty of Breda the Dutch West India Company lost New Netherland, while the East India Company gained

New Neth-
erland lost
in consequence
of the treaty
of Breda.

* A part of the stern of the Royal Charles is still preserved as a trophy in the dock-yard at Rotterdam.

† Aitzema, vi., 35-46, 100-120; D'Estrades, v., 246-361, 382, 390; Kennet, iii., 235; 11-16; Clarendon, ii., 376-381; iii., 454-463; Basnage, i., 803, 804; Evelyn, ii., 27, 28; iii., 214; Pepys, iii., 142-155, 164; Rapin, ii., 645; Burnet, i., 250; Clarke's James II., i., 4-5, 436; Martin, i., 286; Col. Doc., iii., 167; *ante*, p. 125, 131.

‡ Dumont, vii., 45; Aitzema, vi., 55; D'Estrades, v., 323, 384, 385, 402, 404, 476; Basnage, i., 806, 807; Temple, i., 481; Courtenay's Temple, i., 112; Lister's Clarendon, i., 1-4; De Witt, ii., 537; Charlevoix, ii., 264; Hume, vi., 400-402; Lingard, xii., 214-215; Hazard's Leg. Penn., iv., 120; Rapin, ii., 645, 646; Anderson, ii., 4, 2, 4, 3; Martin, i., 287.



CHAP. III. Poleron. Surinam, having been conquered before the 10th of May, was also confirmed to the United Provinces. Its acquisition somewhat reconciled the Dutch people to the loss of New Netherland; and all, except the West India shareholders and the regents of the city of Amsterdam, seemed to be content when the peace was proclaimed at the Hague.

Feeling in London.

But in London the feeling was very different. The church-bells rang out merry peals. Yet no bonfires showed the national joy—"partly," wrote Pepys, "from the dearness of firing, but principally from the little content most people have in the peace." They lamented "the giving away Poleron and Surinam, and Nova Scotia, which hath a river 300 miles up the country, with copper-mines, more than Swedeland, and Newcastle coals, the only place in America that hath coals that we know of; and that Cromwell did value those places, and would forever have made much of them." In this feeling Massachusetts shared when it became known that England had parted with "a place so profitable to them, from whence they drew great quantities of beaver and other peltry, besides the fishing for cod." Public sentiment, both in and out of Parliament, strongly condemned the king. A scape-goat became necessary at Whitehall; and Clarendon, who had served his sovereign with austere fidelity, was meanly deprived of the great seal, which, at the very moment it was demanded from him, he was affixing to the proclamation of the Peace of Breda. This was followed by a quarrel between the Duke of York and his secretary, Sir William Coventry, who gave up his place, and was succeeded in it by Matthew Wren, a son of the Bishop of Ely, and secretary to the fallen chancellor, upon whose recommendation James made him his own most confidential officer.*

Fall of Clarendon.

30 August.

9 Septem.
M. Wren
the duke's
secretary.

The Peace of Breda finished the controversy between the West India Company and Stuyvesant. As the fatherland had relinquished its ancient province to England, the veteran felt no scruple about ending his days under a govern-

* Lambrechtsen, 89; Akenma, vi., 54; Basnage, i., 809, 810; Lingard, xii., 215-226; Hume, vi., 492-496; Lister, ii., 383-414; Chalmers, Ann., i., 593, 578; Rev. Col., i., 118; Pepys, ii., 261; *ibid.*, 227, 223-226, 240, 242, 244, 247; Evelyn, i., 335, 499; Campbell's Chancellors, iii., 222; Clarke's James II., i., 426-433; Col. Doc., iii., 241; Hutch. Coll., 489; Life of Clarendon, Cont. (Oxf.), iii., 192, 293, 294.



ment to which he had already sworn a temporary allegiance. But, before returning to America, he tried to obtain a relaxation of the English navigation laws in favor of New York by allowing it a direct commerce with Holland; urging to the Duke of York that the capitulation should be ratified, and that its sixth article especially—which allowed a free trade with the Netherlands in Dutch vessels—should be “observed, or in some measure indulged.” This was very necessary, because the Indians, in trading their beavers, especially prized Holland duffels and Utrecht iron-ware, and, for want of them, would traffic with the French of Canada, “who are now incroached to be too neare neighbours unto us;” and because, as no ships were to go to New York from England this season, there would be destitution unless it should be relieved from Holland. Stuyvesant therefore asked permission to dispatch two Dutch vessels from Holland to New York, that so “the inhabitants, being plentifully supplied, may cheerfully follow their vocations, and bless God for the opportunity of enjoyment of all peace and plenty under the auspicious wings of your Royal Highness’s paternal care and protection.”*

CHAP. III.

1667.

Stuyvesant asks for free trade.

As the Duke of York could not grant such a request, Stuyvesant petitioned the king in council. On the report of a special committee, without reference to the Council of Trade, Charles ordered that “a temporary permission for seven years, with three ships only,” be granted to the Dutch “freely to trade” with New York; and the duke was authorized to grant his license to Stuyvesant pursuant to Nicolls’s passport. The capitulation of New Netherland was not formally ratified, but it was recognized as obligatory. Having gained for his countrymen this concession in their favor, Stuyvesant returned to spend the remnant of his days calmly in New York.†

17 Oct.

22 Oct.
Permission given.

Stuyve-
sant’s re-
turn to
New York.

The Peace of Breda brought welcome relief to Nicolls. The duke yielded to his many requests to be recalled from an administration which he had conducted so well. It was difficult to find a proper successor in a court thronged with needy place-hunters, few of whom were qualified to govern an American province. James selected Colonel Francis

Nicolls re-
lieved.

* Col. Doc., II., 251; III., 163, 164; *ante*, vol. I., p. 762.

† Col. Doc., III., 164-167, 175-179, 227; v., 496; vii., 586; Val. Man., 1847, 370.



CHAP. III.

Lovelace, a brother of John, Lord Lovelace of Hurley, and a favorite of the king, of whose "honorable privy chamber" he was one of the gentlemen. It seems to have been Lovelace's chief "affliction" that at his departure from England he was unable to see Secretary Arlington.*

1667.
Lovelace.

1668.

1 January.
Peace proclaimed in
New York.

At length official intelligence of the Peace of Breda reached Nicolls, whose pleasant duty it was, at the opening of the new year, to announce the good news in his government. This was done by warrants addressed to each justice, requiring a general publication of the proclamations announcing the auspicious event.†

Commercial enter-
prise.

A new order of things at once opened. The success of Stuyvesant at London aroused the repressed commercial enterprise of the Dutch merchants; of whom Van Cortlandt, Cousseau, Ebbing, and others set sail for Holland during the summer, to settle old accounts and prepare for increasing trade.‡

Grants of
land.
3 Febr'y.

The peace also enabled Nicolls to reward some of his English subordinates. Among the effects of Dutch subjects which had been confiscated by the decree of 10th of October, 1665, were Hog Island, and the two "Barent's" Islands in the East River. Hog Island was now granted to Captain John Manning, whom the governor had just before appointed sheriff of New York. The Barent's Islands were at the same time patented to Collector Thomas Delavall.§

Martha's
Vineyard
and Nantucket.

A question respecting the jurisdiction of New York was now settled by Nicolls. The islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, although contiguous to the coast of New Plymouth, were included by name in the Duke of York's patent. In 1641 they had been conveyed by Stirling and Gorges to Thomas Mayhew and his son, who, after 1654, finding that they were out of the jurisdiction of Massa-

* Chalmers, i., 578, follows the error of Smith, i., 42, in stating that Lovelace assumed the administration of New York in May, 1667. He appears to have arrived at New York in the spring of 1668, and did not relieve Nicolls until August of that year. See N. Y. Surrogate's Records, Willis, i., 25; Val. Man., 1847, 362; Col. Doc., ii., 359; iii., 174.

† Ord., Warr., etc., ii., 123; Col. Doc., ii., 522.

‡ Col. Doc., iii., 178.

§ Patents, i., 129, 131; Ord., Warr., Lett., ii., 177; Col. Doc., ii., 654; Val. Man., i., 17, 351; 1866, 380; 1866, 493-497; Smith, i., 299; Hoffman's Treatise, i., 147, 148; Benson's Mem., 96; C. Wolley, 90; *ante*, p. 91. Hog Island was known as Manning's Island, and afterward as Blackwell's Island. The "Barent's Islands" became Englished into Great and Little "Barn" Islands, one of which is now known as Ward's Island, and the other as Randall's Island. All the three now belong to the city of New York. See the "New Map," Val. Man., 1863.



chusetts and New Plymouth, exercised a kind of independent government in their remote habitations. An English vessel having been driven ashore on one of the neighboring Elizabeth Islands, and seized by the Indians, the matter was reported to Nicolls, who sent a special commission to May-³ January. hew, and instructed him to summon the offending sachems before him at "Martin's Vineyard," and also to request Governor Prince, of New Plymouth, to reprove the disorderly savages within his jurisdiction. "I have not been forward," he added, "in trivial cases, to contest for my master's bounds; knowing, however, that all the islands, except Block Island, from Cape Cod to Cape May, are included in my master's patent. The first scruples will be soon removed; however, in cases of this consequence, I must declare myself both in point of power and readiness to protect and defend my master's honor and interest.*

Another case of "scruple" was decided without difficulty. A few miles from Stonington, in Connecticut, is an island, about nine miles long and one broad, which the Dutch discovered in 1614, and named the "Visscher's" or Fisher's Island. As it was near the mouth of the Mystic, John Winthrop obtained a grant of it in 1640 from Massachusetts, and in the following year the assent of the Hartford Court; and in 1644 he bought it from the savages. But, as it was included in the Duke of York's patent, Winthrop procured from Nicolls a confirmation to himself of Fisher's Island "as an entire enfranchised township, manor, and place of itself; and to have, hold, and enjoy equal privileges and immunities with any other town, enfranchised place, or manor, within the government of New York; and to be in nowise subordinate or belonging unto, or dependent upon any riding, township, place, or jurisdiction whatsoever." In vain Connecticut afterward attempted to assert her authority over Fisher's Island. It still forms part of Suffolk County, in the State of New York, and was, until recently, owned by Winthrop's descendants.†

For some time after his arrival at New York, Lovelace

* Col. Doc., iii, 163-170; Hough's "Nantucket Papers," x.-xv., 1-22, 70; Mass. Rec., iv, 15, 169; Palfrey, ii, 195, 329; Hutch. Mass., i, 161; Mather's Mag., ii, 424, 427.

† Patents, iii, 5; C. L. Rec. Conn., i, 64, 65; iii, 64, 283; Mass. Rec., i, 504; Mass. H. S. Col., xxxv, 54, 78; xxxvii, 568; xxxvii, 83; Palfrey, ii, 234, 624; Thompson, i, 388, 200, N. Y. Rev. Stat., iii, 2; *ante*, vol. i, 57.



CHAP. III. occupied himself in becoming familiar with the government he was soon to administer. One of his duties was to

1668.

13 April.
Admiralty
Court in
New York.

preside in the Admiralty Court; and a case having been removed from the Mayor's Court to that tribunal, Lovelace took his seat with Nicolls on the bench. A controversy had arisen between the owner of the ship Cedar and the privateers who went in her to Acadia the year before, and who had taken a Spanish prize which they brought into New York. After several hearings the court pronounced a sentence, a remarkable feature of which was, that an Indian man, who had been taken "as part of their prize," should be sold, to defray the charges on both sides.*

18 April.

Delaware
affairs.

Affairs on the Delaware had meanwhile gone smoothly along. A new church had been built by the Swedes in 1667 at Crane Hook, near Fort Christina or Altona, now known as Wilmington, in which Lokenius, the Lutheran clergyman, who appears to have led rather a godless life, continued to minister. By an order of Nicolls, the local

21 April.

government of the Delaware territory was now regulated more clearly. Captain John Carr was to remain as commander-in-chief at Newcastle, assisted by Alricks and others as counselors, and the Duke's laws were to be published and observed. In all cases of difficulty the directions of the governor and council at New York were to be sought and followed. Not long afterward, the Mantes, or Red Hook Indians, having committed several murders, Nicolls and Lovelace, in a joint letter, directed Carr and his counselors to make all necessary rules for the government of both Christians and Indians, and report them to New York for confirmation.†

8 June.

Military
arrange-
ments in
the prov-
ince.

The military establishment of the whole province was now settled. The garrison at Newcastle was to have a lieutenant, a corporal, and eighteen men; that at Esopus, a sergeant and twenty-one men; and that at Albany, a lieutenant, a sergeant, a gunner, a drummer, and twenty men. At Fort James, in New York, there were to be a lieutenant,

* N. Y. Surv. Rec. Wills, i, 55-51; Val. Man., 1847, 362-369; Col. MSS., xxii., 46-49; Ord., Warr., Lett., ii., 191; *ante*, p. 127. Captain Richard Morris, formerly of Barbadoes, first appears as a New Yorker in connection with this matter of the ship Cedar: compare Dunlap, i., 272; Bolton's Westchester, ii., 284, 286; Col. Doc., ii., 505, 619.

† Ord., Warr., Lett., ii., 207, 208; S. Smith, 51, 52; S. Hazard, Ann. Penn., 140, 332, 348, 371, 372; Rec. Penn., i., 37, 58; iv., 74; Proud, i., 124; Upland Records, 24, 25; *ante*, vol. I., 225, 248, 511, 616, 631, 734.



an ensign, a gunner, a marshal, a surgeon, four sergeants, four corporals, and eighty men. As a special encouragement to the settlement of the newly-purchased country back of Esopus, Nicolls granted thirty lots of thirty acres each to the soldiers in the garrison there.³³

After the recall of the royal commissioners, Massachusetts extended her authority over Maine, which drew from Nicolls a strong remonstrance. But this was unheeded. In a farewell letter the Governor of New York sharply admonished the Boston Court, avowing himself "concerned during life in the affairs of New England;" adding, "You know that my station hath been a frontier place towards the Indians, who had too much influence upon the spirits of the Dutch in former times, but are now in a competent measure reduced to a better compliance in their behaviours towards us, and have given me some testimonies of their desires to live in peace with our nation; for they have made me a present of two youths which have been their prisoners a few years: they were taken in Maryland. Also they have promised to bring me another young man remaining with them. So that though they have a warr with the English in Maryland, because the English there do take part with their Indians, yett you may guesse these heathens are yet desirous of peace with the English, of which I have long since advertised the Governour of Maryland."³⁴

In company with his successor, Nicolls made a last visit to Albany, against the monopoly of the Indian trade at which place the magistrates of New York had protested. While there, the two governors jointly issued new instructions to Captain Baker for the regulation of the garrison and in regard to transactions with the Indians, and other matters growing out of the treaty of Breda. There was now to be a general amnesty and oblivion of all "seeds of distrust and jealousy;" and, in future, no complaints were to be brought before the governor at New York "but such as are of high nature, and the proofs grounded upon sufficient testimonies."³⁵

³³ Col. MSS., xxii., 50; Ord., Warr., etc., ii., 206; Coll. Ulster H. Soc., i., 50, 72; *ante*, 89.
³⁴ Col. Doc., iii., 170-173; Hutch., i., 260-267; Coll., 427, 428; Mass. Rec., iv. (ii.) 270-276.
³⁵ Col. Doc., 164; Chalmers, i., 484; Palfrey, ii., 632-634; Williamson, i., 431-438.
³⁶ Ord., Warr., etc., ii., 229-233; Col. MSS., xxii., 10; Munsell, vii., 100, 101; New York City Rec., vi., 257; *ante*, p. 58.

CHAP. III.
1668.

6 April.

12 June.
30 July.
Nicolls's letter to Massachusetts.

Against Albany etc.



CHAP. III.

1668.

8 August.

15 August.

21 August.
Case of
Hall.17 August.
Nicolls
leaves
New York.

28 August.

25 August.
Maverick's
letter about
Nicolls.

On his return to New York, Nicolls prepared to take leave of his government. His predecessor Stuyvesant, having irregularly sealed some patents after the surrender of New Netherland, received a formal pardon for himself and his secretary Van Ruyven. A new patent was also given to De Silles, Cortelyou, and others, confirming the town privileges of New Utrecht. At the same time, Samuel Edsall received a patent for Bronck's land, opposite Haerlem. As a crowning act of grace and justice, Nicolls released Ralph Hall and his wife from the recognizances which they had been required to give when charged with witchcraft in 1665, "there having been no direct proofs nor further prosecution of them, or either of them, since."*

The authorities of the city of New York now signed a loyal address, which they asked Nicolls to deliver to the duke, near whose person he was to resume his service. All the freemen of the metropolis were divided into two companies, and ordered to appear in arms at the governor's departure. A few days afterward, Nicolls, having transferred his functions to Lovelace, embarked for England, with every demonstration of respect and regret from those who, receiving him as a conqueror, bade him farewell as a friend. Invested with extraordinary powers, he had used them with the moderation and integrity of a true gentleman; and the people, whose prejudices he had avoided wounding, "loved the man whose orders they disliked." His former colleague, Maverick, thus wrote to Lord Arlington: "After his abode here four years (where he hath lived with great reputation and honour), he is now returning home. I must needs accompany him with this character—that he hath done His Majesty and His Royal Highness very considerable service in these parts, having, by his prudent management of affairs, kept persons of different judgments and of diverse nations in peace and quietness, during a time when a great part of the world was in wars. And as to the several nations of the Indians, they were never brought into such a peaceable posture and faire correspondence as by his means they now are."†

* Ord., Warr., etc., ii., 216, 217, 220; Patents, iv., 54; Thompson, ii., 191; Bolton, ii., 283, 284; Doc. Hist., iv., 89; *anon.* p. 91; vol. I., p. 268.

† N. Y. City Rec., vi., 375, 480; Col. Dec., iii., 174, 175; Chalmers, i., 578; Smith, i., 42; Hutch. Coll., 428.



CHAPTER IV.

1668-1673.

ABOUT thirty miles west of London, on the Berkshire side of the Thames, in the parish of Hurley, there stood, until a few years ago, a large country house, built in the Elizabethan style, and called "Lady Place." Covering the site of an ancient Benedictine monastery, from which it was named, it had been erected by Sir Richard Lovelace, a lucky comrade of Drake. With the rich Spanish spoil he had won, the retired adventurer had laid out terraced gardens around his Tudor mansion, the wide hall of which opened on the placid river, and had adorned its stately gallery with beautiful Italian landscapes. The heir of the old knight greatly improved this place, and was created, by Charles the First, Baron Lovelace, of Hurley. His sons, John, the second Lord Lovelace, and Francis, a colonel in the army, adhered to the royal cause. Francis Lovelace appears to have visited "Long Island" in 1650, under a pass from Cromwell's Council of State, and to have gone thence to Virginia. At its surrender to the Commonwealth forces in 1652, he was chosen by Sir William Berkeley to convey the tidings "to the late King of Scots." The zeal of Lovelace in the interest of Charles the Second led to his being committed a prisoner to the Tower by Richard Cromwell, on a charge of high treason. This only increased his favor with the king at the Restoration. He was enrolled as one of the knights of the "Royal Oak," an order which Charles proposed to institute as a reward to his faithful followers in adversity, but was more substantially recompensed by being made "one of the gentlemen of His Majesty's Honorable Privy Chamber." In due time, the king's favor induced his appointment by the Duke of York as the successor of Nicolls in his government.*

CHAP. IV.

1668.

Lady Place
at Hurley.Colonel
Francis
Lovelace.Appointed
Governor of
New York.

* Lyson's *Magna Brit.*, I, 299; Burke's *Dormant Peerage*, iii., 428, 499; Sainsbury's *Cal.*



CHAP. IV.

1668.
Character
of Love-
lace.

Lovelace was in many respects unlike his predecessor. He was phlegmatic rather than enterprising, and lacked the energy and decision so necessary in a provincial governor far removed from the observation of his superiors. Yet he was of "a generous mind, and noble;" upright and good-natured, and by the very moderation of his character unwilling to disturb the policy by which Nicolls had administered the government of New York with such success. For several months he had enjoyed the opportunity of studying his predecessor's conduct. With a commission similar to that of Nicolls, Lovelace also brought with him to New York a formal confirmation by the duke of the code of laws established at Hempstead. Lovelace's instructions, among other things, required him "to make no alterations in the Laws of the government settled before his arrival."*

28 August.
Lovelace
installed.

Having received from Nicolls the cipher in which he was to correspond with the secretary of state in case of necessity, Lovelace announced to Lord Arlington his installation in the government of New York, "being the middle position of the two distinct factions, the Papist and Puritan," and asked "some instructions" how he might steer his course, so as most to advance the interest of the king and the duke.†

2 Septem.
Lovelace's
council.

Lovelace's council, at various periods, consisted of Cornelis Steenwyck, the mayor of New York; Thomas Willett and Thomas Delavall, former mayors; Ralph Whitfield, Isaac Bedlow, Francis Boone, and Cornelis van Ruyven, aldermen; Captain John Manning, the sheriff of the city; Dudley and Thomas Lovelace, the governor's brothers; and Matthias Nicolls, the provincial secretary. Van Ruyven

24 Novem.

was also appointed to succeed Delavall, who went on a

endar. i., 359, 361, 376, 379; Chalmers, i., 124; Beverly (ed. 1875), 59, 51; Burk, ii., 81-91; Thurloe, vi., 151; vii., 558, 558, 622; Col. Dec., ii., 589; Macaulay, ii., 494; Knight's England, iv., 439; Lond. Quart. Rev., July, 1859. The nephew of Governor Francis Lovelace was John, the third lord, who was prominent in the Revolution of 1688. Upon his death without issue, the barony descended to his second cousin, John, the grandson of Francis, who became the fourth Lord Lovelace, and was appointed by Queen Anne governor of New York, where he died in May, 1703.

* Court of Assizes, ii., 131; MSS., Secretary's Office, Albany; Journals Leg. Council, i., Int., v., vii.; Col. Dec., iii., 194, 218, 226, 260; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 73; Smith, i., 42, 46; S. Smith, 73; N. Y. H. S. Coll. (1869), 32; ante, 18, 73.

† Col. Dec., iii., 174, 175. The erroneous statements of Smith, i., 42, and Chalmers, i., 578, which have been so generally copied, that Lovelace began his administration in 1667, have been already noticed, ante, p. 138, note.



visit to England, as collector of the duke's revenue at New York; and Bedlow was made comptroller or naval officer, and Nicholas Bayard surveyor. The customs' rates were regulated by a new order from the governor.*

CHAP. IV.

1668.
19 Novem.

Affairs at Esopus required Lovelace's earliest attention. Conflicting claims were made for the lands in the "New Dorp;" and the governor, finding it necessary to go thither in person, left Captain Manning in charge of Fort James, with full instructions. At Esopus, Sergeant Beresford was directed to disband the garrison, and cause their duty to be performed by the burghers; but, to induce the soldiers to remain, liberal grants of land were assured to them, and arrangements made to found two new villages farther inland along the fertile borders of the Esopus Creek. Soon afterward, Henry Pawling was appointed to lay out lots at the new "furthest dorp."†

5 Septem.
Esopus re-
fairs.

10 Septem.

26 Septem.

9 Novem.

A severe epidemic—fever and ague, and fluxes—visited New York this autumn, which caused the governor to proclaim a day of humiliation and prayer. In his proclamation, Lovelace reproved the swearing, intemperance, and impiety which he observed to prevail throughout the province.‡

21 Novem.
Epidemic
in New
York.

The want of a printing-press in New York was now much felt, and, as the only one in the English colonies was at Cambridge, Lovelace sent to obtain a printer from there. But he did not succeed; and it was a quarter of a century before the "master art" began to be practiced in New York. This was not, however, owing to the duke, who never instructed any of his governors to restrain printing. The immediate cause of Lovelace's enlightened effort was his desire to have published a catechism which the Reverend Thomas James, the first minister at Easthampton, encouraged by the friendship of Nicolls, had prepared for the use of the Indians, and translated into their tongue, with some chapters of the Bible. For this and other labors James was warmly thanked by the governor.§

A printing-
press wanted.

19 Novem.

* Council Min., iii., 1; Court of Assizes, ii., 202, 293, 619, 635; Ord., Warr., etc., ii., 297, 328, 329; Col. M.S., xxii., 51-53, 168, 169; Val. Man., 1853, 328, 379-383; Munsell, iv., 22.

† Ord., Warr., etc., ii., 266, 241-258, 279; Esopus Records; Ulster H. S. Coll., i., 59, 71.

‡ Ord., Warr., etc., ii., 294, 295; Col. Doc., iii., 185; Val. Man., 1566, 514.

§ Ord., Warr., etc., ii., 290-293; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxvii., 485; Wood, 41; Thompson, i., 177; Dunlap, i., 126; Thomas's Hist. Print., i., 275; ii., 90, 286. The Duke of York has been unjustly charged with discouraging printing in his province. The fact is, that neither



CHAP. IV.

1668.
Jesuit mis-
sion among
the Mo-
hawks.
7 October.

The Jesuit "Mission of the Martyrs," now named Saint Mary of the Mohawks, had meanwhile prospered greatly. After visiting Quebec, Frémin's colleague, Pierron, returned to Tionnontoguen, and resumed the care of the mission. He soon acquired the Mohawk language well enough to be understood, and, by means of little pictures which he painted himself, explained more readily the Christian doctrines. Every week he visited seven Mohawk villages, which extended over a distance of seven leagues and a half. But the war now raging between the Iroquois and "the nine nations of Mahicans who were scattered between Manhattan and the environs of Quebec," hindered the progress of religion. Hostilities were carried to the neighborhood of Albany, and prisoners taken on either side were burned or eaten. Being more numerous, the Mahicans had the advantage. One of Pierron's chief encouragements was that the savages themselves observed that they had among them a "foreign Demon" who was more to be feared than those which they adored in their dreams. This demon was intoxicating drink, which came to them from Albany,* hindered religion, and ruined their youth. At Pierron's suggestion, several sachems came to New York with a petition to the governor, accompanied by a letter from the father, asking him to arrest the evil. Lovelace at once directed the officers at Albany to execute the laws against selling liquors to the Indians. He also wrote to Pierron: "I have taken all the care possible, and will continue it under the most severe penalties, to restrain and hinder the furnishing of any excess to the Indians. And I am very glad to learn that such virtuous thoughts proceed from infidels, to the shame of many Christians. But this must be attributed to your pious instructions; you who, being well versed in a strict discipline, have shown them the way of mortification, as well by your precepts as your practice."†

12 Novem.

18 Novem.

Andros nor Dongan, the successors of Lovelace, were at all restricted on this subject: see Col. Doc., iii., 216-219, 331-334. It was not until 1686 that James the Second restrained the liberty of printing in New York; and the instruction then given to Dongan followed the precedents of the Plantation Committee respecting other royal governors: Col. Doc., iii., 375. The restrictive policy of Massachusetts has been adverted to, *ante*, p. 89, *note*.

* The French furnished the Indians with brandy distilled at Rochelle; the English and Dutch with rum imported into New York from the West Indies, which the savages preferred, as "more wholesome." Col. Doc., iii., 463, 797; ix., 36, 979, 1073; Doc. Hist., i., 140.

† Ord., Warr., Letts., ii., 281; Col. Doc., ix., 883; Relation, 1669, 1-6; Charlevoix, ii., 187, Shea, 263, 264.



At Saint Francis Xavier, among the Oneidas, Bruyas CHAP. IV. suffered many discouragements. He was obliged to live upon dried frogs and herbs, while few baptisms rewarded his zeal. Of all the Iroquois, the Oneidas were the most intractable. The hostile Mahicans, and the Andastes or Conestogues, however, filled the canton with continual alarms.*

1668.
Bruyas at
the Onei-
das.

Early in the summer, Bruyas was joined by the youthful June. father Julian Garnier, the first Jesuit ordained at Quebec. After remaining a short time at Oneida, Garnier set out for Onondaga, a day's journey farther to the west, to the old mission of Saint Mary of Gennentaha, from which the French had been expelled ten years before. Received with every mark of good will, Garnier was constrained by "a gentle violence" to remain among the Onondagas. At his request, Garakontié caused a chapel to be built, and with four others then visited Quebec. His request for another 20 August. "black robe" to be sent as a companion to Garnier was granted by Courcelles, who did not fail to impress upon 27 August. the savages the power and glory of the "Great Onnontio Louis." Loaded with presents, Garakontié and his colleagues returned to Onondaga, escorting the Fathers Etienne de Carheil and Pierre Millet, and the Mission of Saint John the Baptist was happily established.†

October.

Carheil, however, did not remain long at Onondaga with Garnier and Millet. During the first mission of the French there, the Father René Ménard had founded a church at Cayuga, about thirty leagues farther west, and delegates now came from there to ask a renewal of missionary service. Conducted by Garnier, Carheil accordingly visited 6 Novem. Cayuga. A chapel was soon completed and dedicated to 9 Novem. Saint Joseph. Besides the village of Guyoguen, or Cayuga, which was the seat of the mission, there were two others a few leagues apart, Kiohero or Tiohero, and Onnontaré. These villages were near the Lake Tiohero—now known as Cayuga Lake—upon the banks of which David le Moyne had died in 1657. In this most beautiful region of West- Carheil at Cayuga. ern New York Carheil began a laborious service among

* R. H. I. n. 1660, 1. 8; Charlevoix, II., 185; Shea, 275.

† R. H. I. n. 1658, 2. 4; 1662, 8-13; 1668, 6-19; 1669, 10; Charlevoix, II., 176, 177; Col. Rec., II., 27, 665; Shea, 269, 260, 277, 287, 289, 294; *ante*, vol. I., 643, 646, 704.



CHAP. IV. the docile but superstitious Cayugas, and Garnier returned to assist Millet at Onondaga.*

1668. Twelve years before, Chaumonot had proclaimed the faith to the Senecas at their principal village of Gandagaré. The most numerous of all the confederates, the Senecas, whom the French called "the Upper Iroquois," were the most gentle and tractable. They were rather laborers and traders than warriors, and many Christian Hurons had been adopted by them after 1649. Frémin, who was now the superior of all the Iroquois missions, thought that the time had come to "begin a new church" among the Senecas.

10 October. Leaving Pierron in charge of the Mohawks at Tionnontoguen, the superior accordingly passed westward, visiting the other missionary stations. After twenty days' travel he reached the Senecas, who received him with the honors which the savages show to ambassadors. The chiefs quickly built him a chapel, and many converts, especially among the domiciled Hurons, rewarded his labors. The mission was named in honor of Saint Michael. Thus in 1668 the Jesuits had established five stations among the Iroquois. Frémin, the superior, however, found his labors among the Senecas hindered by a projected war against the Ottawas. But this he was able to prevent, aided by the opportune arrival, the next spring, of the Father Allouez from Canada, with some restored prisoners; and it was hoped that the Iroquois, who had now both "the Mahicans and the Andastes on their hands, would fear more than ever the arms of France."†

1 Novem.
Frémin
among the
Senecas.

Iroquois
colony at
Quinté
Bay.

A colony of the Cayugas, which had been formed on the northern shore of Lake Ontario, at Kenté or Quinté Bay, was placed in 1666, for a short time, under the care of Frémin and some other fathers of his order; but, on the conclusion of the peace with the Iroquois the next year, the Jesuits, who were to occupy the more important field south of the lake, resigned the Quinté mission to the Sulpitians of Montreal. Two young "Levites" of that order, Francis Salignac de Fénelon and Claude Trouvé, had recently arrived in Canada, the latter of whom was ordained a priest

11 June.

* Relation, 1657, 19, 42; 1668, 20; 1669, 12-16; 1670, 63, 63; 1672, 22; Map in Rel., 1665; Col. Doc., iii., 251; Charlevoix, ii., 80, 81, 185; Shea, 222-234, 261, 287, 296; *ante*, vol. i., 614.

† Relation, 1649, 2-23; 1657, 42, 45; 1668, 32; 1669, 17; 1670, 63, 77; Charlevoix, ii., 8, 133; Shea, 191, 192, 198, 226, 232, 234, 263, 290; *ante*, vol. i., 614.



by Bishop Laval; and in the autumn of this year they went to Quinté, where they began their missionary labors. In this station they were succeeded by Francis Lascaris D'Urfe, De Cice, and others; who for several years struggled with many difficulties, until the Sulpitians at length resigned their enterprise to the Recollets.*

CHAP. IV.

1668.

28 October.

New Jersey, under the government of Philip Carteret, had now for three years been quietly growing. But it was a constant eyesore to the authorities of New York; and, although Nicolls had ceased to allude to its dismemberment, Maverick could not refrain from writing by him to Lord Arlington that the duke's grant to Berkeley and Carteret had "proved very prejudicial to this place and government. Their bounds reach from the east side of Delaware River to the west side of Hudson's River, including a vast tract of the most improveablest land within his Royal Highness his patent. It hath taken away some Dutch villages formerly belonging to this place, and not above three or four miles from it. The Duke hath left of his patent nothing to the west of New York, and to the east upon the main about sixteen miles only from Hudson's River, whereon is but one poor village. Long Island is very poore and inconsiderable; and beside the city there are but two Dutch towns more, Sopus and Albany, which lie up north on Hudson's River. I suppose when the Lord Berkeley had that grant, it was not thought he should come so neare this place, nor were the inconveniences of it known or considered."†

25 August.

This letter of Maverick, in connection with Nicolls's personal representations on reaching London, caused the duke to try to regain New Jersey. One point was promptly settled. As Nicolls had confiscated to his royal highness, in 1665, the estate of the West India Company in Staten Island, and as one of the outlets of the Hudson River ran around the island, it was "adjudged to belong to New York." Philip Carteret, the Governor of New Jersey, had probably

Staten Isl.
and ad-
judged to
New York

* Relation, 1668, 4, 20, 31; Col. Doc., ix., 91, 97, 101, 102, 112, 122; Faillon, iii., 171-173, 179-188; La Potherie, iii., 216; Doc. Hist., i., 283; Charlevoix, ii., 137, 256; Shea, 254, 283, 289; N. Y. H. S. Proc., 1848, 179-209; 1849, 12; Sparks's Life of La Salle, 16, 17; Shea's Letters, N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., xvii., 244, 247. Fénélon, of Quinté, has been confounded by Hennepin and other later writers with his younger half-brother, the famous author of *Relations*, the Archbishop of Cambray. Another blunder places the scene of the Quinté mission's labors among the parent tribe of the Cayugas, instead of among their cousins on the northern shore of Lake Ontario.

† Col. Doc., iii., 174; ante, p. 85.



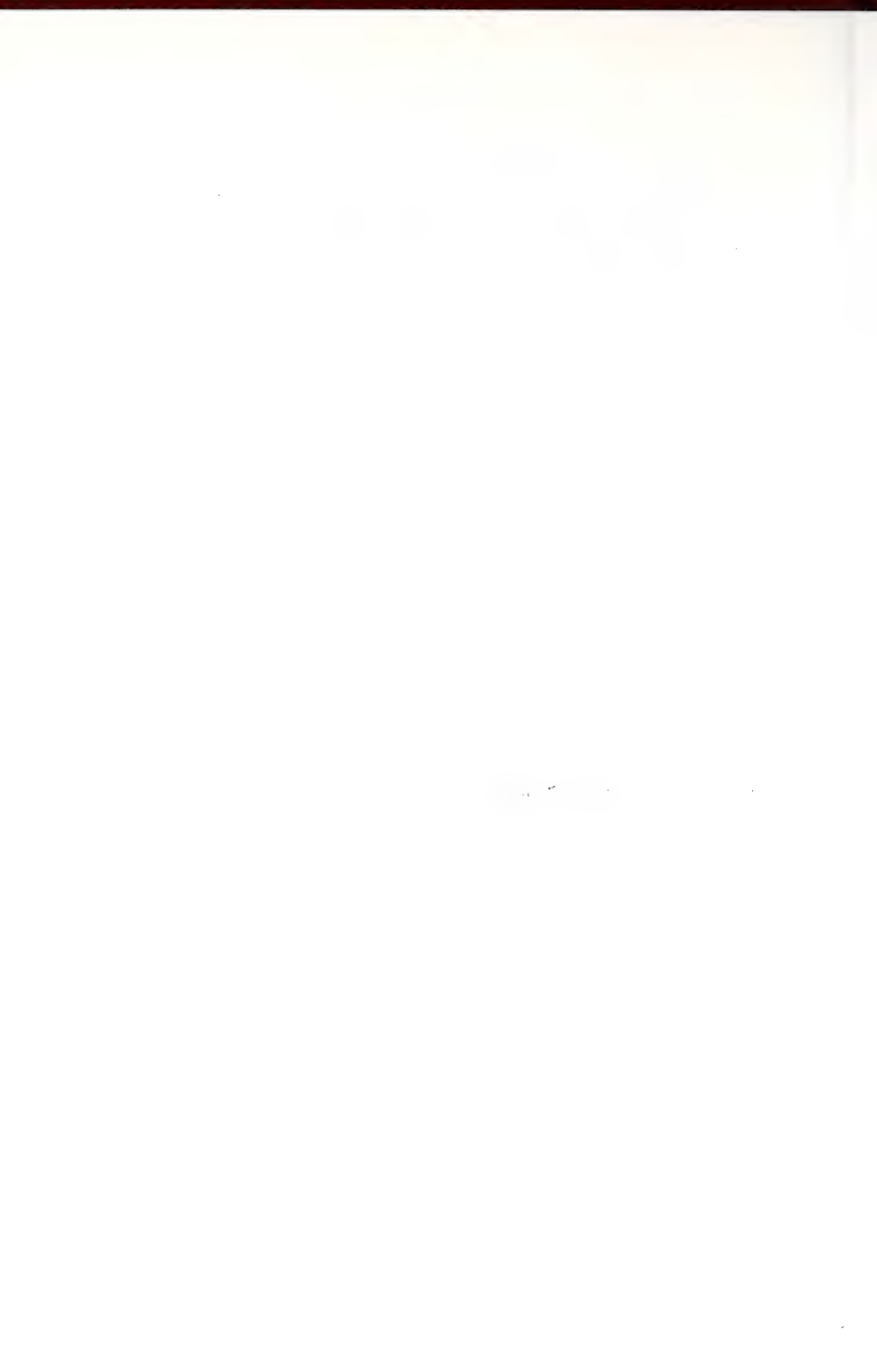
CHAP. IV. anticipated this decision when he took title from Nicolls,
 1668. in 1667, for land on that island. Lord Berkeley, one of the
 commissioners of the Duke of York's estate, having been
 detected in "the basest" corruption, was now "under a cloud,
 and out of all his offices." Berkeley therefore offered to
 surrender to James his patent for New Jersey. Carteret,
 lately made Treasurer of Ireland, agreed to 'do the like;
 and it was arranged that the two proprietors should, in ex-
 change for New Jersey, "returned to his Royal Highness,"
 receive the territory on the Delaware which Nicolls had so
 shrewdly and earnestly recommended. This determination
 was promptly notified by Carteret to his cousin at Eliza-
 bethtown. Had it been carried out it would have relieved
 the duke of much future anxiety.*

The pro- But, owing probably to Lord Baltimore's claim to the
 posed res- west side of the Delaware, the proposed arrangement fell
 toration fails. through, and New York was not "enlarged" by the restora-
 tion of her old territory. In the spring of this year Carteret
 May. called an assembly, in which each town in New Jersey was
 represented, while Staten Island, being conceded to New
 November. York, was not. But in the next autumn dissensions grew
 so strong that the governor was obliged to adjourn the As-
 sembly without day.†

The order of the king in council, which allowed three
 Dutch ships "freely to trade" with New York for seven
 years, had meanwhile caused jealous complaints; and the
 November. Council for Trade reported that English merchants were
 "altogether discouraged and withdrawing their respective
 estates" from New York, and that the sixth and seventh ar-
 ticles of the capitulation bound the king to grant freedom
 of trade no longer than for "the first six months after the
 rendition of the place." They therefore advised that, as
 there had been "a mistake in the drawing" of the order, it
 should be revoked, and that all persons trading to New

* Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxvii., 315, 319; N. J. H. S. Proc., i. (ii.), 32-36; Pepys, iii., 167, 172, 331; iv., 28; Col. Doc., iii., 105, 114; Yonkers Gazette, No. 656, for 8 July, 1865; Newark Town Records, 21, 22; *ante*, p. 59, 71, 85.

† Col. Doc., iii., 113, 156, 340; Penn. Archives, i. 70; Leaming and Spicer, 77-92; Gordon, 28; Whitehead, 42-48, 51-53, 188-190; Newark Town Rec., 21; Chalmers, i., 526, 528, 634; Yonkers Gazette, 8 July, 1865. Lord Berkeley was made Lieutenant of Ireland in 1670, when, on the death of the Duke of Albemarle, he also became Palatine of Carolina; and doubtless he and Carteret thought that their interests would be better served by retaining New Jersey than by taking the Delaware territory, and with it a controversy with so important an Irish peer as Lord Baltimore, who could be easier dealt with by the king's brother.



York contrary to the navigation acts should be prosecuted. CHAP. IV.
 This was the more necessary because the trade of England
 was "now in great measure upheld" by the American plant-
 ations. The king in council therefore ordered that all
 passes granted under the order of 23d October, 1667, be re-
 called and annulled; yet, out of regard to those who had
 relied on it, the Duke of York might license one of the
 ships now preparing in Holland to make one voyage to
 New York. 1668.

13 Novem.
The Eng-
lish refuse
free trade
to New
York.

Sir William Temple was directed to notify this decision
 to the interested parties in Holland. Relying on the pre-
 vious order, Van Cortlandt, Cousscau, and several other "loy-
 al subjects now residing in New York," had dispatched one
 ship from Amsterdam, with the duke's pass, and were pre-
 paring another, which was nearly ready to sail. Upon their
 representing this to the king, backed by the personal efforts
 of Nicolls, an order in council was obtained, "with much
 difficulty," allowing the second "permissionated ship" "to
 make one voyage and no more;" and the Duke of York
 was at the same time directed not to grant "any other
 Passe or Passes to any Dutch shipp or shippes whatsoever
 to trade to New Yorke." Lovelace proclaimed the royal
 pleasure on the arrival of what was understood to be the
 last Dutch ship that would "ever come on that account" to
 Manhattan.* 24 October.

11 Decem.
A Dutch
ship spe-
cially per-
mitted.

1669.
24 Feb.

This ending of the old commercial intercourse between
 New York and Holland followed one of the best acts of
 Charles the Second. Soon after the peace of Breda, the
 ablest English statesmen saw that the only way to curb the
 arrogance of France was to form an alliance between Great
 Britain and the Dutch Republic. Sir William Temple—
 in many respects the opposite of Downing—was accord-
 ingly sent with special powers to the Hague. He had al-
 ready won the confidence of De Witt, and in a few days a
 treaty was made which bound Great Britain and the United
 Provinces to act, if necessary, in concert against France.
 The accession of Sweden shortly afterward gave to this
 famous coalition the name of the "Triple Alliance." 1668.

23 Jan'y.
The "Tri-
ple Alli-
ance."

* Cf. *Doc.*, III., 175-179; Chalmers's *Rev. Col.*, I., 117; *Mass. H. S. Coll.*, xxx., 77, 78;
ibid., 215; *Hist. Mag.*, viii., 230; *ante*, 137. Lovelace, at the same time, "granted free
 trade to the merchants at New York, and took off the wonted regulation."



CHAP. IV.

1668.

Principle of
the Triple
Alliance.

17 Febr'y.

1669.

March.
Fishing-
bank dis-
covered off
Sandy
Hook.Ship-build-
ing in New
York.

Foiled and mortified, Louis was obliged to suspend his conquests and make peace with Spain. In England, the Triple Alliance became very popular. The two great Protestant states of the world were now close friends, and outspoken members of Parliament declared that the king had done his only good act. "It was certainly," says Burnet, "the master-piece of King Charles's life; and if he had stuck to it, it would have been both the strength and the glory of his reign. This disposed his people to forgive all that was passed, and to renew their confidence in him, which was much shaken by the whole conduct of the Dutch war." The real merit of Temple's diplomacy was the ratification of the commercial stipulations in the treaty of Breda, by which England recognized the great principle so earnestly contended for by the Dutch, that "free ships make free goods."*

New York was now prosperous, and Lovelace was sincerely anxious to aid its progress. Under his encouragement, a fishing-bank—now the favorite sporting-ground of the metropolis—was discovered, about two or three leagues from Sandy Hook, on which, in a few hours, some twelve hundred "excellent good cod" were taken. At the east end of Long Island the whale fisheries promised great results, and even in the harbor of New York several whales were struck. More than twenty of them were taken during the spring. In partnership with some others, Lovelace built a ship, "by Thomas Hall's house,"† on the East River, and a smaller one was launched at Gravesend. The governor's was "a very stronge and handsome vessell, but costly," named "the Good Fame, of New York," and was sent to Virginia, and afterward to Europe. It was noticed that there were at one time nine vessels in port which brought tobacco from Virginia, and others were employed in carrying more than ten thousand schepels of New York wheat to Boston. Several people in and about Boston

* Alitzema, vi., 332-398; Sylvius, l., 2-6; De Witt's Letters, iv., 609-651; Basnage, ii., 8-13; D'istrades, vi., 222, 229, 233, 248-253, 267, 286, 291; Rapin, ii., 650, 651; Kennett, iii., 270; Anderson, ii., 465-497; Dalrymple, i., 37; Burnet, l., 254; Temple, i., 312-384; Courtenay's Temple, l., 117-201, 433; ii., 440, 452; Davies, iii., 67-71; Hume, vi., 411-413; Lingard, xii., 228-232; Macaulay, i., 262, 263; Campbell's Chancellors, iii., 204; Bancroft, ii., 325.

† Hall's house was near the present Beekman Street, so named after William Beekman, of Beopus, who purchased Hall's property in 1670: see Valentine's New York, 72, 123; Val. Man., 1850, 539, 549; Benson's Memoir, 129; *ante*, vol. i., 517.



showed inclination to come and live in New York, one of them having bought five houses. Many others, attracted by the reports of Sylvester and Morris, and the earnest recommendations of Maverick, prepared to remove from Bermuda and Barbadoes, and bought houses and plantations. The genial hospitality which had hitherto distinguished New York seems to have been encouraged by Lovelace. "There is good correspondence," wrote Maverick to Nicolls, "kept between the English and Dutch; and to keep it the closer, sixteen (ten Dutch and six English) have had a constant meeting at each other's houses in turns, twice every week in winter, and now in summer once. They meet at six at night, and part about eight or nine." Generous Madeira wine, and rum and brandy punch, "not compounded and adulterated as in England," were the usual beverages of the colonial metropolis.*

CHAP. IV.

1669.

April.
Hospitality
in the me-
tropolis.

The city itself was described by Daniel Denton, of Jamaica, in the earliest separate account of New York ever published, as "built most of brick and stone, and covered with red and black tile; and the land being high, it gives at a distance a pleasing aspect to the spectators." The king's cosmographer, John Ogilby, more elaborately pictured it as "placed upon the neck of the Island Manhattan, looking towards the sea, encompassed with Hudson's River, which is six miles broad: the Town is compact and oval, with very fair streets and several good houses; the rest are built much after the manner of Holland, to the number of about four hundred houses, which in those parts are held considerable: Upon one side of the town is James'-Fort, capable to lodge three hundred souldiers and Officers: It hath four bastions, forty pieces of cannon mounted; the walls of stone, lined with a thick rampart of Earth; well accommodated with a spring of fresh water, always furnished with arms and ammunition against accidents: Distant from the sea seven leagues, it affords a safe entrance, even to unskilful pilots: Under the town side, ships of any burthen may ride secure against any storms, the current of the River being broken by the inter-

Aspect of
the city of
New York.

* Cf. Denton, *II.*, 182-185; Gen. Ent., *iv.*, 149; Court of Assizes, *II.*, 455, 531; Mass. *II.* S. *II.*, *xxx.*, 89; *xxxvii.*, 316-319; Welley's New York, 25, 55.



CHAP. IV. position of a small Island, which lies a mile distant from the Town.”*

1669. The “small island,” just below the city, known as Nut-
 April. ten, or the Governor’s Island, “by the making of a garden,
 Nutton, or Governor’s Island. and planting of several walks of fruit-trees on it,” wrote Maverick to Nicolls, “is made a very pleasant place.” The metropolis was admirably protected by nature. About ten
 Hell Gate. miles to the northeast was “a place called Hell Gate, which being a narrow passage, there runneth a violent stream, both upon flood and ebb, and in the middle lieth some Islands of rocks, which the current sets so violently upon that it threatens present shipwreck; and upon the flood is a large Whirlpool, which continually sends forth a hideous roaring, enough to affright any stranger from passing any further, and to wait for some Charon to conduct him through; yet to those that are well acquainted, little or no danger; yet a place of great defence against any enemy coming in that way, which a small fortification would absolutely prevent, and necessitate them to come in at the west end of Long Island, by Sandy Hook, where Nutton Island doth force them within command of the Fort at New York, which is one of the best pieces of defence in the North parts of America.”†

Long Isl.
and.

Long Island, although thought by Maverick to be “very poore and inconsiderable,” was described by Denton, of Jamaica, as almost a paradise. Crops of all kinds came up

* Daniel Denton’s “Brief Description of New York,” London, 1670 (republished by W. Gowans, New York, 1845), p. 2; Ogilby’s America, 1671, 169, 170. Ogilby’s account is compiled chiefly from Denton and from Montanus, who seems to have decribed the Dutch engraving of New Amsterdam, rather than the reality of New York, as follows: “On the Manhattan’s Island stands New Amsterdam, five [Dutch] miles from the ocean. Ships run up to the harbour there in one tide from the ocean. The city has an earthen fort. Within the fort, upon the outermost bastion towards the river, stand a wind-mill and a very high staff, on which a flag is hoisted whenever any vessel is seen in Godyn’s [the lower] Bay. The church rises with a lofty doubled roof, between which a square tower looms up. On the one side is the prison, and on the other side of the church is the Governor’s house. Outside of the walls are the houses, mostly built by Amsterdammers. At the waterside stand the gallows and the whip. A handsome city tavern adorns the furthest point. Between the fort and this tavern is a row of proper dwelling-houses, among which are conspicuous the warehouses of the West India Company.” Montanus, 123; N. Y. Doc. Hist., iv., 75. I do not quote the description of Edward Melton, Amsterdam, 1681, who was in New York from 2 July, 1668, to 6 July, 1669—(and, being an Oxford scholar, ought to have written an original account)—because he merely copies Montanus. John Josselyn, *Gent.*, who published his two voyages to New England in 1674, describes New York as “built with Dutch brick, *alla moderna*, the meanest house therein being valued at one hundred pounds. To the landward it is compassed with a wall of good thickness. At the entrance of the River is an island well fortified, and hath command of any ship that shall attempt to pass without leave.” see extract in N. Y. H. S. Coll. (ii.), i., 284; also Oldmixon, i., 239, 271.

† Col. Doc., iii., 183; Denton, 2; Benson’s Mem., 94, 97; *ante*, vol. i., 56, 267.



in plenty. Many fruits grew spontaneously, especially strawberries; of which there was "such abundance in June, that the fields and woods are died red: Which the country-people perceiving, instantly arm themselves with bottles of wine, cream, and sugar, and, instead of a coat of Male, every one takes a Female upon his horse behind him, and so rushing violently into the fields, never leave 'till they have disrob'd them of their red colours, and turned them into the old habit." Trout and other delicious fish abounded in the crystal streams which "keep their course throughout the year;" and multitudes of seals, producing "an excellent oyle," sported on the beaches. The vast smooth plains on the island encouraged the breeding of swift horses; and upon that at Hempstead, Nicolls had already established a race-course, and directed that a yearly plate should be run for. Lovelace now ordered that trials of speed should take place every May; and the justices of Hempstead were directed to receive subscriptions from all disposed to run "for a crown of silver, or the value thereof in good wheat." The swiftest horse was to be rewarded by a silver cup. The general training being ordered for the same time, the governor attended it himself.*

CHAP. IV.

1669.

Strawberries and trout.

1 April.
Races.

18 May.

An extraordinary panic now occurred at the eastern end of Long Island. The Indians of "Meontawket" or Montauk, who were tributary to Ninigret, the Narragansett sachem, being in arrear, collected a quantity of wampum, which, with an old gun-barrel, they sent over to the chief, who received the messengers graciously, and pardoned the defaulters. This at once excited suspicions of a great Indian plot. The constable of Easthampton required the Montauks to give up their arms, which they reluctantly did. The clergyman James, with several of the inhabitants of Southold, wrote to Major John Mason, of Connecticut, one of the Pequod war heroes, and to Lovelace, charging Ninigret with organizing an extensive conspiracy to cut off all the English. The governor at once communicated with the Rhode Island authorities, who directed that Ninigret should be brought before them at Newport. But

Panic on Long Island.

22 June.

5 July.

* Col. Doc., iii., 174; Denton's N. Y., 2-C; Thompson, i., 271, 272; ii., 63; Denlap, i., 119; Ord., Warr., etc., ii., 416; Farmer and Moore's Coll., iii., 189; Odenixon, i., 279. ante, p. 71.



CHAP. IV. the sachem explained every thing so satisfactorily that the court "saw no just grounds of jealousy as to his intentions." The whole story was evidently a "panic fear of some over-credulous persons." In order, however, to prevent future jealousy, the Montauk chiefs soon afterward acknowledged the governor of New York as "their chiefest sachem."^{*}

1669.
23 July.
24 August.

3 Novem.

Scotch
ships.

5 April.

23 April.

Not allow-
ed to come
to New
York.

25 July.

9 Septem.
Esopus af-
fairs.

11 Septem.

17 Septem.

Marble-
town.

Hurley.

As the Navigation Laws prevented direct trade between Holland and New York, the Duke of York asked of his brother that "such of His Majesty's subjects in Scotland as shall be induced to take conditions as planters at New York" might be allowed to go there and trade in Scotch vessels to the West Indies and other plantations. The king accordingly authorized two Scotch ships to trade between Scotland and New York. The farmers of the customs objected that this would be a breach of the Navigation Laws. It was replied that the duke's design was for the general good of the king's "late acquired dominions," and that natural-born British subjects should be encouraged to emigrate to New York and its dependencies, so as to counterbalance its "forraigne" population, which consisted of Dutch, Swedes, and Finns. The objections of the farmers of the English revenue seem to have defeated the enterprise. In expectation of their arrival, Lovelace made arrangements to settle two hundred Scotch families at Esopus; but no ship came from Scotland this year.[†]

Lovelace now ordered that "the garrison at the Esopus shall be henceforth disbanded and dismissed of their military employment, they being a needless charge to the Duke."

A commission and instructions were likewise issued to Counselor Ralph Whitfield, Captain John Manning, Captain Thomas Chambers, William Beekman, Christopher Beresford, and Henry Pawling, to regulate affairs at Esopus and the new villages adjoining. The commissioners accordingly went to Esopus and organized two new villages, the farthest of which they named "Marbletown," from the blue limestone which abounds there; the nearer one they called "Hurley," after Lovelace's ancestral home on the

^{*} Ord., Warr., Lett., ii., 461, 549; Court of Assizes, ii., 431; R. I. Rec., ii., 263-268; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 548-551; Thompson, i., 92, 298-306; Wood, 65, 66, 79; Hough's Philip's War, 33-37; Arnold's R. I., i., 338, 339; *ante*, vol. i., 271, 559-554.

[†] Col. Doc., iii., 150, 151, 152, 156; Ord., Warr., etc., ii., 482-484.



Thames. A few days afterward, "the town formerly called Sopos was named Kingston" by the commissioners, in farther compliment to the governor, whose mother's family had a seat at Kingston, P'Isle, near Wantage, in Berkshire. Beresford was appointed chief magistrate of Hurley and Marbletown, and Pawling officer over the Indians. Lewis du Bois and Albert Heymans, who was now restored to favor, were made overseers for Hurley; John Biggs and Frederick Hussey for Marbletown; and Thomas Chambers and William Beekman for Kingston. The "Duke's Laws" were directed to be enforced, and instructions were given to the new officers respecting their conduct toward the Indians. Separate lots in the two new villages were parcelled out to the disbanded soldiers. The governor having specially directed that "a very good provision at the furthest dorp" be made for Mrs. Ann Brodhead, "in regard of her great charge, and of her being a commissioned officer's widow," a tract at Marbletown was allotted to her.*

CHAP. IV.

1669.

25 Septem.
Kingston.New offi-
cers.Lands
granted at
Esopus.

In the mean time, Lovelace, sorely troubled that no instructions had come to him from England, in the absence of which he conceived "the whole frame of government at this time standing still," prorogued the Assizes from October to November. His reasons were that "new Instructions and directions from His Royal Highness" were daily expected from England, "and the Generall Court of Assizes being thought the most proper place for the publishing of business of such publique concern."†

23 Septem.
Assizes
prorogued.

Not long afterward Delavall returned from England, bringing the expected dispatches. Nicolls having explained the condition of New York, the duke caused a seal to be engraved for the province, and another for the city, which he directed should be used for all public purposes. James also presented to the city authorities a silver mace, and

4 July.
Provincial
and city
seals.

* Council Min., iii., 11; Ord., Warr., etc., ii., 530-536; Col. MSS., xxii., 99, 1-27; "Peter H. S. Coll., i., 50, 51; *ante*, p. 123, *note*. Descendants of Captain Brodhead have continued to reside at Marbletown, where, in 1776, his great-grandson, Captain Charles W. Brodhead, raised a company of grenadiers, in command of which he was present at the surrender of General Burgoyne at Saratoga, in October, 1777; American Archives, v., 1382; Journals of N. Y. Prov. Congress, i., 295, 374; ii., 139, 150; *ante*, 89; N. Y. H. S. Coll. (1568), 189.

† Ord., Warr., etc., ii., 504; Court of Assizes, ii., 414, 415; S. Hazard's Ann. Penn., 277; reprinted Journals, i., Int., vi. It seems that Alderman John Lawrence, while in London in the spring of 1669, had been asked by Nicolls to take letters from him to New York; but on his calling for them, "Colt. Nicolls being not out of bed, and his man unwilling to awake him, he came away without them." So New York, through a valiant scurpler, had not a seal. Lawrence: Col. Doc., iii., 183; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxvii., 319.



CHAP. IV. seven gowns for the mayor, aldermen, and sheriff, and sent them a letter acknowledging the satisfaction which their loyal address had given him. Lovelace presented these to the corporation in behalf of the duke, who, "although he esteems some of these but as the gaiety and circumstantial part of Government, yet, you may be assured as to what is more essential and substantial, it shall receive all encouragement and hearty assistance from him."*

1669.
10 July.
6 October.

The city
petitions
for free
trade.

Thus encouraged, the corporation petitioned the duke that—as the limited permission for Dutch ships to trade between Holland and New York had been withdrawn—a free commerce might be allowed to the province, according to the Navigation Acts, by vessels "touching in some port in England as they came from Holland, and paying His Majesty's customs there; as also touching in England as they go for Holland." This was indispensable if the Indian trade was to be retained, which required "Dutch duffels and blancoates," not made in England, and which, if prohibited, would be procured through Canada, to the injury of New York.†

Since the departure of Nicolls, Maverick had lived in New York, whence he wrote that he had never received any thing "to the value of sixpence, one horse excepted, which Mr. Winthrop presented me with, among the rest. And what I had by His Majesty's order, I have spent as much since I came over, and four hundred pounds besides in England, in prosecution of this design." Nicolls now obtained for his former associate the gift, from the Duke of York, of a "house in the Broadway" of the city. In acknowledging this favor, Maverick urged Nicolls and Cartwright to do all they could for the relief of their "poor friends in New England," whose spirits were drooping in the "bondage they live," and who were "now in a far worse condition" than that in which the royal commissioners had found them. The king, in truth, had, by this time, become "very intent about settlement of his colonies" in

5 July.

12 July.

15 October.
Maverick
on New
England.

* N. Y. City Rec., vi., 188-490; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxvii., 316, 319; Val. Man., 1839, 343; 1850, 490; 1853, 380; Doc. Hist., iii., 241; iv., 1, *; *ante*, p. 142. The seal of the province of New York, thus authorized by the Duke of York's warrant of 4 July, 1669, to be used for all public instruments, was so used until replaced by the new seal which James the Second substituted for it on 14 August, 1687: Col. Doc., iii., 427.

† Col. Doc., iii., 187; Val. Man., 1850, 423.



America, and a select council was appointed to consider their affairs.* CHAP. IV.

The Duke of York, by conviction a Roman Catholic, felt a sympathy with all who dissented from the Established Church of England. This feeling led him, in apparent contradiction to the arbitrary impulses of his nature, to become the friend of religious toleration. Soon after Nicolls came to New York, he allowed the Lutherans in the province to send to Germany for a minister. The Reverend Jacobus Fabricius accordingly came over, and Lovelace gave him leave to exercise his office as long as he and his people should behave themselves orderly. At first Fabricius labored at Albany; but his conduct was so offensive to the magistrates and the Dutch congregation that the governor was obliged to suspend him from his functions there, allowing him, nevertheless, to preach at New York. On receiving his dispatches from England, Lovelace wrote to the Albany magistrates "that His Royal Highness doth approve of the toleration given to the Lutheran Church in these parts. I do therefore expect that you will live friendly and peaceably with those of that profession, giving them no disturbance in the exercise of their religion; as they shall receive no countenance in, but, on the contrary, strictly answer any disturbance they shall presume to give unto any of you, in your divine worship."†

The provincial ministers of the Reformed Dutch Church at this time were the Domines Schaats at Albany, Polhemus at Flatbush and Brooklyn, and Megapolensis and Drisius, colleagues at New York. Blom's place at Esopus remained vacant. Samuel Megapolensis had returned to Holland in the spring, under a pass from the governor. The following winter, Domine Johannes Megapolensis was "snatched away by death," after twenty-seven years' ministerial service in the province; and the metropolitan church was left in care of Drisius, whose declining health almost prevented his doing active duty. Privileged by the articles of capitulation, the Dutch churches in New York maintained their former discipline, and remained for a century in

1669.

29 Febr'y.
Fabricius
Lutheran
minister.

19 April.

28 May.

13 October.

Religious
toleration.Ministers
of the Re-
formed
Dutch
Church.

2 April.

December.

* Cf. Doc., III., 184, 185; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxvii., 311, 316; *ante*, p. 54.

† Gen. Ent., I., 71; Ord., Warr., etc., ii., 335, 394, 423; Court of Assizes, ii., 424; S. Hist., i., 573; Dunlap, I., 120, 126, 484; Munsell, iv., 24; *ante*, vol. I., p. 634, 642, 656, 681.



CHAP. IV. direct subordination to the mother Classis of Amsterdam, in Holland.*

1669. At the Court of Assizes it was ordered that uniformity
4 Novem.
Meeting of
the Assizes. of weights and measures should be enforced throughout the province. But as there were not enough English stand-

1670. ard weights and measures in the country, the governor was
1 January. obliged to suspend the execution of the law by his proclamation, "sealed with the seal of the colony."†

1669. At the same Assizes petitions from East and West
5 Novem.
Petitions
from Long
Island
towns. Chester, Hempstead, Oyster Bay, Flushing, Jamaica, Newtown, and Gravesend, against several grievances, were presented. These grievances were "that what was promised upon our submission by Governor Nicolls and the rest of His Majesty's Commissioners should be made good to us:—Namely, That we should be protected by His Majesty's lawes, and enjoy all such priviledges as other, His Majesty's subjects in America, do injoye;—which priviledges consist in advising about and approving of all such lawes with the Governor and his council as may be for the good and benefit of the common-wealth, not repugnant to the Lawes of England, by such deputies as shall be yearly chosen by the freeholders of every Towne or parish; and likewise to be informed what is required of us His Majesty's subjects by virtue of the Commission granted from His Royal Highness the Duke of York." Some of the smaller grievances complained of were remedied. But Lovelace had no power to grant the demand for an Assembly to make laws with the governor and council. Indeed, Nicolls had distinctly refused it at the Hempstead meeting in the spring of 1665. To the statement of the petitioners the Court of Assizes replied: "It doth not appear that Colonel Nicolls made any such promise; and the Governor's Instructions directing him to make no alterations in the Lawes of the Government settled before his arrivall, they cannot expect, his Honor can comply with them therein;—And for their desire to know what is required of them, there is nothing required of them but obedience and submission to the Lawes of the Government, as appears by His

Answer of
the Court
of Assizes.

* Ord., Warr., etc., ii., 381; Corr. Cl. Amst.; Col. Doc., ii., 251; iii., 182; vii., 586; N. Y. H. S. Coll., iii., 144, 145; *ante*, vol. i., 614, 724, 762.

† Court of Assizes, ii., 226; Col. MSS., xxii., 88, 96, 98; Munsell, iv., 8, 9, 11; N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 421.



Royal Highness's Commission, which hath often been read unto them."*

In the spring of this year a Mohawk embassy asked Courcelles, at Quebec, that other missionaries might be sent to assist Pierron, and that their nation might be protected from the Mahicans by the King of France, to whom their country now belonged "by the force of arms." Father Francis Boniface was accordingly selected to help in the mission, the prosperity of which, piously attributed to the death of Jogues at Caghnawaga, seemed to verify the words of Tertullian, that "the blood of martyrs is the seed of Christians."†

1669.
The Mo-
hawk Mis-
sion.

But the Mohawk country was a battle-ground. At day-break, toward the end of summer, three hundred Mahican warriors attacked the palisaded village of Caghnawaga, which the Mohawks bravely defended, while their squaws made balls for their firelocks. The news was quickly carried to Tionmontoguen, and at eight o'clock a large force, accompanied by Pierron, set out to relieve their beleaguered friends. The enemy had retired, however, after two hours' fighting; and the Mohawks, descending the river in canoes, hid themselves below the Mahicans in an ambuscade which commanded the road to Schenectady, at a place called "Kinaquariones." A conflict followed, in which the Mohawks put the Mahicans to flight. The Mohawks then induced the Oneidas, Onondagas, and Cayugas to make common cause; and four hundred confederate warriors went to surprise a Mahican fort "situated near Manhattan." But this enterprise failed, and the Iroquois came home with two wounded. They quickly appealed to Lovelace, who—anxious that they should hunt beaver rather than fight—endeavored, in concert with Winthrop, to make peace between them and the Mahicans.‡

18 August.
Mahican
war with
the Mo-
hawks.

19 August.

17 Oct. 1669.
Lovelace
and Win-
throp's
peace
negotiations.

Frémin, the New York Jesuit superior, now summoned his missionary brethren to meet him at Onondaga. Pierron from the Mohawks, Bruyas from Oneida, Garnier and

* Court of Assizes, II. 228-234; Journals Leg. Council, I. Introduct., vi., vii.; Wood, 94; Thomson, I. 145, 146; Dunlap, I. 129; *ante*, p. 22, 66, 69.

† Relation, 1669, 2-6; Shea, 264; *ante*, 129; I. 423.

‡ Relation, 1670, 23-27; 1671, 17; Col. MSS., xxII. 132; Court of Assizes, II. 436; Orin, *Verdicts*, II. 485; Munsell, iv., 19, 26; Mass. H. S. Coll., I. 166, 167; xxx. 79; Holmes, I. 154; Col. Rec. Conn., II. 649.



CHAP. IV. Millet of Onondaga, and Carheil from Cayuga, accordingly met Frémin, from the Senecas, in council. After deliberating for a week, the superior detached Garnier to assist him among the distant Senecas, leaving Millet alone in charge of the Onondagas. On reaching their remote station, Frémin assigned Garnier to the village of Gandachiragou, himself remaining in charge of the mission of "Saint Michael," at Gandagarae. This village was composed of refugees from three different nations, the Neutres or Atti-wandaronk, and the Hurons, which had been conquered by the Iroquois.*

15 May.
Talon in
France.

Talon now went for a short visit to France, where he induced Colbert to instruct Courcelles to visit the Iroquois country at least once in two years, with all his forces, so as to impress the savages with respect for the French. Six companies of the Carignan regiment, which had returned with Tracy, were also ordered back to Canada.†

Jesuit ex-
plorations
in the
West.

Meanwhile Talon's energy had aroused enterprise in Canada. The Jesuit Father Claude Allouez had, in 1665, visited Lakes Huron and Superior, or Tracy, by way of the Ottawa River, and had heard of "the great River called Messipi." In 1667 he was again on his way to the West with Father Louis Nicolas. The next year Nicolas returned; and Allouez, after a short visit to Quebec in 1669, went back to the Falls of Saint Mary, accompanied by Father Claude Dablon, where, with Father James Marquette, who had meanwhile arrived there from the Ottawas, they established a mission among the Chippewas.‡

Up to this time the disciples of Loyola had been the pioneers of western exploration in New France. Their honors were now to be shared by others. A young man of a good family at Rouen, Robert Cavelier de la Salle, after studying with the Jesuits, had emigrated to Canada in 1667, and had established himself on a fief granted to him,

* Relation, 1641, 72; 1651, 4; 1670, 26, 45, 46, 69, 72-77; Shea, 279, 290, 291. In Barber and Howe's N. Y. Hist. Coll., 393, and Clark's Onondaga, I, 194, is an extract from Governor Clinton's Memoir, giving an account of the massacre of a French and Spanish party at the Batternut Creek, near the present village of Jamesville, on the first of November, 1669. The story rests on the traditional statements of some Onondaga sachems, and is not alluded to in the contemporary Relations of the Jesuits.

† Col. Doc., ix., 62, 84, 787; Charlevoix, ii., 166, 183, 189; Garneau, I, 198-201.

‡ Relation, 1667, 2-26; 1668, 21; 1669, 17-20; Charlevoix, ii., 167-176, 186, 187; La Potherie, ii., 124; Bancroft, iii., 142-162; Shea's Missions, 357-361; Discovery of the Miss., xxiv., xlvii., 67, 68, 69; Sparks's Life of La Salle, 2, 3.



which he named Saint Sulpice, at the head of the Rapids of Saint Louis, just above Montreal.* Enterprising, meditative, and abounding in courage and resources, La Salle thought that there must be a route to China and Japan through the Saint Lawrence and the unknown countries to the south and west of the great lakes. He talked so much about discovering it, that his home on the Saint Lawrence got the derisive name of "La Chine," which it bears to this day. Champlain had early heard of a great dividing cataract; and in 1641 the Jesuit missionaries had argued that if the French were once the masters of the shore of Lake Ontario nearest to the Iroquois, they could easily go up by the Saint Lawrence beyond "Onguiahra" to the farther savage tribes. The information which La Salle gained from "many savages of different nations" satisfied him that "by means of a great River, which the Iroquois call *Hohio*, emptying into the Meschisipi (which in the Illinois tongue signifies Great River), one could penetrate even to the sea." In the summer of 1669, La Salle, encouraged by Courcelles, joined the Sulpitian fathers François Dollier de Casson and René de Galinée, of Montreal—whose brethren had already established a mission at Quinté, on the northern shore of Lake Ontario—"in an expedition to explore a passage which they expected to discover, communicating with Japan and China." They proposed to visit "divers Indian nations situated along a great River, called by the Iroquois, Ohio, and by the Ottawas, Mississippi." Ascending the Saint Lawrence in canoes, they coasted along the southern shore of Lake Ontario, and visited the Seneca village just at the time Frémin was absent at Onondaga. After observing the Falls of Niagara, La Salle was seized with a violent fever, which obliged him to return to Montreal. Dollier and Galinée, however, continued their explorations, and visited the country between Lakes Ontario and Erie, of all of which they took possession in the name of the king. The royal arms were erected, and a map was prepared showing the new discoveries.

CHAP. IV.

1669.

La Salle
at "La
Chine."The "Mes-
chisipi," or
Great Riv-
er.6 July.
La Salle,
Dollier,
and Gal-
inée explore
Lakes On-
tario and
Erie.

August.

Septem.

Possession
taken by
the
French.

* La Salle does not appear to have actually entered the Society of Jesus. Mr. Shea informs me that Father F. Martin, of Quebec, could not find La Salle's name in the Catalogues of the Order, all of which he examined. See also Shea's note to his "Early Voyages," (New York, 1861. Faillon, III, 228, says that La Salle was a "novice," by becoming which he lost his patrimony.



CHAP. IV. These events occurred while Talon was yet in France. But the act of possession, drawn up by the Montreal Sulpitians, was held to be good evidence of the French title to the countries around Lakes Ontario and Erie.*

1669.

Jegow's claim at Lazy Point, on the Delaware.

21 May.

2 August. Delaware affairs.

Lord Baltimore's claim.

15 October.

Intercourse overland with the Delaware had become so constant, that a grant was obtained in 1668 from Governor Carteret by Peter Jegow, who had been a member of the New Jersey Assembly of that year, to take up the land at "Lazy Point," now known as Burlington, opposite Mattinecunk, or "Chygoes" Island, and keep a house there for the entertainment of travelers. Lovelace now ordered that all the inhabitants on the Delaware should take out new patents from himself. William Tom, who had come over with Nicolls, and who had served as commissary there, was appointed collector, and families from Maryland were encouraged to settle on the creek near Apoquinimy. This, however, excited the jealousy of the Maryland authorities, and White, their surveyor general, coming to Newcastle, laid claim "to all the west side of Delaware River, as belonging to the Lord Baltimore." Maryland also sent persons to exercise jurisdiction at the Hoarkill, but none of the inhabitants would submit to it until the matter should be decided in England. Nicolls had written that the question about the Delaware territory, which was to be transferred to Berkeley and Carteret in exchange for New Jersey, would be settled "in some short time;" and Lovelace now dispatched to the duke "the original claim" made by White in behalf of Lord Baltimore by a ship "bound away for London."†

Disaffection had meanwhile appeared among the people on the Delaware. A Swede, whose real name was Marcus

* Fallon, iii., 151, 180, 228, 229, 284-307, 312-314; Col. Doc., ix., 66, 80, 81, 138, 305, 335, 382, 706, 787, 789; Champlain's Map, 1662; Relation, 1641, 71, 72; 1668, 4; Hennepin's Desc. de la Louisiane, 2, 3; Charlevoix, ii., 263, 264; Catalogue of Library of Parliament, Canada, p. 1615; Raynal, viii., 145; Kalm, in Pinkerton, xiii., 699; Bancroft, iii., 122, 129, 162; Sparks's Life of La Salle, 5-7; Shea's Desc. Miss., 83, 84, 100; note on Washington's Diary, 1753, 329; *ante*, p. 118; vol. i., p. 341. The statement in Col. Doc., ix., 335, and Doc. Hist., i., 159, that La Salle visited Niagara, and "established quarters and some settlers there," in 1668, seems to be a clerical error for 1678.

† Records of Upland Court, 149, 141; Elizabethtown Bill, 4; Ord., Warr., etc., ii., 234, 267, 268, 269; Col. Doc., iii., 155, 186; Col. MSS., xx., 2, 3; S. Hazard, 373, 374, 396, 402, 447, 466; Gordon, 22; Gazetteer, 112, 113; S. Smith, 69, 71, 93; *ante*, p. 150; vol. i., 183. It appears that New Jersey was understood to be restored to New York, from Newark Town Records, p. 21, that on 25th July, 1669, the town appointed Crane and Treat "to go over to York, to advise with Col. Lovelace concerning our standing, whether we are designed to be part of the Duke's colony or not;" compare Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxvii., 319.



Jacobsen, but who pretended to be a son of the famous Count Königsmark,* went about uttering seditious speeches, and with Henry Coleman, a Finn, endeavored to excite an insurrection against the English authority. "They pretended an expectation of some Swedish ships to come and reduce that place." The news reaching New York, Lovelace ordered the arrest of the ringleaders, and the confiscation of Coleman's estate if he should abscond among the Indians. Jacobsen, or "the long Swede," was soon taken, and kept in custody until he and his associates could be tried by special commission from New York. "For the rest of the poor, deluded sort," added the governor in his directions to Carr, "I think the advice of their own countrymen is not to be despised, who, knowing their temper, could prescribe a method for keeping them in order, which is severity, and laying such taxes on them as may not give them liberty to entertain any other thoughts but how to discharge them."† "I perceive the little *Domine*‡ hath played the trumpeter to this disorder. I refer the quality of his punishment to your discretion."

1669.
Revolt of
Königsmark, or
"the long
Swede."

2 August.

15 Septem.

Lovelace's
orders.

15 Octob. r.

22 Novem.

6 Decem.

20 Decem.

1670.

20 Jan'y.

The in-
crease
of the
Swedes.

William
Douglas.

The council at New York ordered that although "the long Swede" deserved to die as a rebel, yet, as others were involved with him, he should be whipped, branded, and sold at Barbadoes. Secretary Nicolls and some others were commissioned to go to the Delaware and try the insurgents. This they did, and brought back to New York Jacobsen, the ringleader, in irons, who was temporarily imprisoned in the City Hall. The next month "the long Swede" was sent to Barbadoes and sold as a slave. Coleman, his accessory, lived for several years among the Indians, and afterward became a landholder in Delaware.§

Another troublesome person, William Douglas, was sent

* Evelyn, ii., 168, 174; Reresby, 139-143; Kennett, iii., 402; Rapin, ii., 726; Hargrave's State Trials, iii., 466.

† It appears from this that the Swedes themselves advised severity and heavy taxes as a means of preserving order on the Delaware. Yet Wood (25), Thompson (i., 149), Dunlap (i., 121), and Bancroft (ii., 321) give Lovelace the credit of the idea, and seem to make the specific instructions which he gave to Carr at Newcastle his general principle of government in New York.

‡ "The little Domine" here referred to was Laurentius Carolus Lokenius, the Lutheran minister of the Swedish Church at Crane Hook, near Wilmington: *ante*, p. 149; vol. i., p. 221, 66, 616, 724.

§ Council Minutes, iii., 12-16; Ord., Warr., etc., ii., 500, 503-506; Court of Assizes, ii., 469, 490, 494; Col. MSS., xx., 4-8; xxviii., 163; Col. Doc., iii., 185, 345; S. Smith's ed. 54.

* Hazard, 575-579; Dunlap, ii., App. cxvii.; G. Smith's Del. Co., 93.



CHAP. IV. to New York, whence he was banished to New England, and warned not to come again within the duke's territories. 1670. A court was also established at the Hoarkill, and Martin Kregier appointed collector of the customs there, which were fixed at ten per cent. This duty, however, was soon abolished, upon condition that liquors were to be sold to the Indians very cautiously, and no prejudice be done to the trade at Newcastle, where Carr was directed to be vigilant, and send at once to New York for assistance in case of need.*

25 Feb'y.
28 Feb'y.
15 March.
Customs at
the Dela-
ware.
22 October.

16 Novem.

Lovelace now accomplished "the most memorable act" of his administration. After the return of Nicolls to London in the autumn of 1668, Staten Island having been "adjudged to belong to New York," Lovelace took measures for its settlement, as it was considered "the most commodiosest seate and richest land" in America. Its chief sachem, in the summer of 1669, had solemnly renewed the covenant between its aborigines and the English and the Iroquois. Several of its sachems, however, insisted that they were "the very true, lawful, and sole Indian owners" of the island, who were told that their predecessors had sold it to the Dutch. To quiet their claims, satisfactory presents were promised; and they accordingly executed a deed by which, for a quantity of wampum, coats, kettles, guns, powder, lead, axes, hoes, and knives, they conveyed to Lovelace, in behalf of the Duke of York, "all that Island lying and being in the Hudson's River†—commonly called Staten Island, and by the Indians *Aquehonga Manack-nong*—having on the south the Bay and Sandy Point, on the north the River and the City of New York on Manhattan's Island, on the east Long Island, and on the west the mainland of After Coll, or New Jersey." Possession was formally given "by turf and twigg;" and it was covenanted that on the first of May in each year the Indians should go to Fort James and acknowledge their sale; which was done.‡

Staten Isl-
and pur-
chased
from the
Indians for
the duke.
13 April.

* Council Minutes, iii., 17, 22; Court of Assizes, ii., 475, 611; S. Smith, 53, 56; Hazard's Reg. Penn., i., 76; Ann. Penn., 379, 380, 382; Proud, i., 130; Whitehead, 69, *note*. It seems that Douglas, not liking his banishment into New England, returned to Newcastle in 1672, whence he was sent to New York, and from there was shipped in February, 1673, to Barbadoes, to be sold: Gen. Ent., iv., 244; Council Minutes, iii., 131; S. Hazard, 493.

† By this it appears that the New York Hudson was then understood to encircle Staten Island: in other words, that "the Kills" north of that Island were a part of the great Hudson River.

‡ Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxvii., 315, 317; Munsell, iv., 9; Chalmers's Ann., i., 539; Council



As soon as the river opened, Captain Dudley Lovelace, CHAP. IV. with Cortelyou, Beekman, Beresford, and Pawling, met at Kingston, under a commission of the governor, and granted lands at Hurley and Marbletown, chiefly to the discharged soldiers, who were required not to sell them for three years. Town boundaries were established, local regulations were made, and Beresford was sworn chief officer of Hurley and Marbletown. At the adjournment of the commission the laws were read, and an artillery salute was fired "when the president took horse to depart for New York."*

1670.
17 March.
30 March.
Esopus
affairs.

11 April.

Captain Baker had meanwhile behaved so badly that he was bound over to answer at the Assizes; but the governor, finding it "not only difficult, but too tedious" to decide the case at New York, referred it to the Albany magistrates, with Delavall and Lovelace as commissioners. The latter were instructed, among other things, to make a peace between the Mohawks and Mahicans, arrange the garrison, the excise, and the Indian trade, and inform the magistrates that the governor looked upon the Dutch Church and ministry, which was "found established" by Nicolls and himself, as the parochial church of Albany, which was to be maintained at their discretion, by tax or otherwise, "and that no inhabitant, of what opinion soever, be exempt, but bear his proportion."

Commis-
sioners
sent to Al-
bany.
11 April.

The result of Baker's case was his dismissal from mili- 14 May. tary employment "at Albany and elsewhere." As his place was one of the most important in the province, the governor promoted Ensign Sylvester Salisbury to fill the vacancy, with a commission as lieutenant of infantry; and Dudley Lovelace naturally succeeded to Salisbury's ensigncy on the duke's establishment.†

17 Feb.
Baker re-
ferred to
magistrates.

Minutes, iii., 19-25; *Court of Assizes*, ii., 518; *Land Papers*, i., 54; *Patents*, iv., 69; *Val. Man.*, 1857, 544-547; *Hist. Mag.*, x., 375-377; *Dunlap*, ii., App. cxviii.; *Whitehead*, 17, 19, 246; *N. Y. H. S. Coll.*, ii., 41; *Col. Docs.*, ii., 706; iii., 304, 352, 354; *ante*, p. 149, 150; vol. i., 73, 202, 203, 525, 641, 642, 692. It does not seem that there could have been a better European title to Staten Island than that now held by the duke as proprietor of New York. Yet Carteret's heirs afterward suggested that it belonged to New Jersey.

* *Court of Assizes*, ii., 476, 481, 482, 581; *Col. Mass.*, xxii., 99, 100; *Patents*, iii., 43; *U. S. Coll.*, i., 51, 72; *N. Y. H. S. Coll.* (1865), 185.

† *Orl. Warr.*, Lett., ii., 514-516; *Court of Assizes*, ii., 418, 489, 490, 500; *Council Min.*, vi., 27; *Col. MSS.*, xxii., 78-84, 104; *S. Hazard*, 379; *Munsell*, iv., 9, 12, 13, 14; vii., 191; *Hist. Mag.*, iv., 50; i. (ii.), 223; *Val. Man.*, 1847, 354, 361. After his disgrace Baker appears to have sought a refuge at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, in which he had a joint interest; *Col. Docs.*, ii., 511; *ante*, p. 42.

CHAP. IV.

1670.

27 June.
Trading
vessels on
the Hud-
son River.

The Corporation of New York, jealous of any infringement of the ancient "staple right" of Manhattan, now represented that many vessels not belonging to the province "do frequently go up Hudson's River to Esopus and Albany, there to trade and traffic, contrary to former constitutions and customs." Lovelace accordingly ordered "that no stranger or strange vessel shall be permitted, from and after the date hereof, to pass up the said River to either of the places aforesaid, there to trade or traffic, upon any pretence whatsoever. However, such vessels, unloading their goods in this city, and paying the duties required, the owners of such goods have liberty to transport them into these parts in any other vessels belonging to this port, and may go up themselves, with leave to negotiate there, having first obtained the privilege of being free Burghers of this city."*

24 March.
New York
Exchange.

There was, at this time, no exchange or place of meeting for the merchants of New York. Lovelace therefore directed that they should come together every Friday, between eleven and twelve of the clock, at the bridge which crossed the canal.† The governor also gave by patent, to Adriaen and Christofell van Laer, the exclusive privilege of maintaining a rasp mill to grind the bark used in tanning leather in the city.‡ Another order of Lovelace directed that "Love Island," in the bay, owned by Isaac Bedlow, alderman, counselor and comptroller of the revenue, should be a privileged place, where persons were free from warrants of arrest.§

10 Feb.
Bark mill.

19 August.

Their war with the Mahicans prevented the Mohawks from reaping all the advantage expected from the presence of Pierron and Boniface. Yet many converts were

* Court of Assizes, ii., 559; Munsell, iv., 18, 19; *ante*, vol. i., 243, 628.

† Court of Assizes, ii., 478, 479; Dunlap, ii., App. cxvii.; Hist. Mag., x., 331. This place was at the corner of the present Bridge and Broad Streets: see Val. Man., 1862, 515, 525. The canal or creek at that time ran up from tide-water through Broad Street as far as "Verletten Berg," or "hinderling hill," which the unknowing English, who caught the sound, but not the meaning, nonsensically called "Flattenbarrack Hill," and which is now known as "Exchange Place." It was a favorite sport of New York boys to "coast" on their sledges from Broadway down the steep descent of Verletten Berg.

‡ Court of Assizes, ii., 471-474; Val. Man., 1851, 401, 402.

§ Court of Assizes, ii., 576; Dunlap, ii., App. cxviii. Governor Nicolls granted this island to Captain Needham on the 23d of December, 1667, and he sold it to Bedlow, after whom it was named. Bedlow's widow sold it to James Carteret on 29 April, 1676. In 1800 the State ceded to the United States jurisdiction over it, and Ellis or Oyster, and Governor's Islands in the bay, provided that New York process, civil or criminal, should still continue to be executed on them: Benson's Mem., 121; 1 R. L., 1812, 159, 190; Col. MSS., xxv., 102.



CHAP. IV.

1670.
French ex-
plorations.

3 Septem.
Copper
mines on
Lake Su-
perior.

10 October.
10 Novem.
French
projects on
Lakes On-
tario and
Erie.

3 October.
Jealousy of
Lovelace.

Gabriel de la Ribourde, and by some companies of the Carignan regiment. Delighted with the progress of Western discovery during his absence, Talon dispatched two "persons of resolution," La Salle, to explore farther in the southwest, and his own deputy, Saint Lusson, to the northwest. They were encouraged by the promise of the king to reward nobly him who should reach the Pacific. Saint Lusson was instructed to go to Lake Superior, and "make search and discovery there for all sorts of mines, particularly that of copper;"* take possession of all the countries through which he might pass, and plant the cross, with the escutcheon of France, in confirmation of the king's dominion. The Intendant's deputy was accompanied by the experienced interpreter Nicholas Perrot, who was directed to visit the Northern nations, and invite them to meet, the next spring, at the Falls of Saint Mary, the delegate of the Great Onnontio. Talon also sent to Paris the maps and records made by Dollier and Galinée, as evidences of the French title to the regions round Lakes Ontario and Erie, and proposed that a galley should be maintained on Ontario to secure the fur trade, as the English at Boston, and the Dutch at New York, now drew to themselves more than twelve thousand livres of beaver "trapped by the Indians in the countries subject to the King."†

The movements of the French among the Iroquois were reported to Lovelace, who wrote to Secretary Williamson that four Jesuits, with their servants, in all eleven, had "settled themselves on this side the Lake of Irecoies. They pretend it is no more but to advance the kingdom of Christ, when it is to be suspected it is rather the kingdom of his most Christian Majesty." The "legionary soldiers" whom Louis was sending over might be dangerous to the English Plantations, and should be looked after in Europe.

called because they were first instituted in solitary convents devoted to recollection: Col. Doc., ix., 88, *note*; *ante*, i., p. 67.

* In the Relation of 1670, 83-86, in a very interesting account of the copper mines on Lake Superior, particularly that at "Nantonnaman," or Ontonagon, sent by Dablon from the Falls of Saint Mary to Le Mercier at Quebec, and by him communicated to Talon before the dispatch of Saint Lusson.

† Col. Doc., ix., 63-67, 70, 76, 83, 97, 382, 626, 787, 789, 803, 804; Relation, 1670, 2: 1671, 26; Faillon, iii., 255, 256, 265-297; Colden, i., 35; Charlevoix, ii., 216, 217, 234, 237; Hennepin, New. Desc., 32; La Potherie, ii., 87; Hist. Mag., ix., 206; Shea's Cath. Miss., 412; Desc. Miss., 79, 89, 89, 159; Garneau, i., 201. The maps and description of Lake Ontario prepared by Dollier and Galinée, are in the Parliament Library at Quebec: see Catalogue, p. 1615; also in Faillon, iii., 305.



In consequence of a letter from Pierron, orders were sent to Salisbury, at Albany, to keep a vigilant watch over him, and report all his actions. CHAP. IV.
1670.
22 October.

Lovelace, at the same time, expecting leave to return home, went, with several of his council, as far as Milford to meet Winthrop, "and discourse all affairs that may tend to the mutual convenience of each other." Among these was the settlement of the boundary-line between New York and Connecticut, which the Hartford Court had proposed should be run by a joint committee from each government. But Winthrop, intending to visit England, had vainly endeavored to resign his office of governor, and was unable to meet Lovelace, whose winter journey was thus made fruitless.* Lovelace visits Connecticut.
13 October.
9 Decem.

At the Court of Assizes another case of reputed witchcraft was disposed of. Katherine Harrison, a widow, of Wethersfield, in Connecticut, having been convicted of witchcraft, was obliged to leave that town, and came to Westchester, the Puritan inhabitants of which complained to Lovelace, who warned her to return to Connecticut. Upon her refusal she was cited before the governor, who referred her case to the Court of Assizes, upon her giving security for good behavior. The court, finding nothing against her, directed her release, and gave her liberty to reside where she chose in the government. But the people of Westchester became so "uneasy" at her remaining amongst them, that Lovelace was obliged to order the poor widow to leave that infatuated town.† Katherine Harrison's witchcraft case.
May.
7 July.
25 August.
October.
Ordered to leave Westchester.

An interesting political event now occurred. The palisades around Fort James being decayed, the Court of Assizes ordered that a levy, or contribution for their repair, should be made in the several towns of Long Island, and the justices in each riding were directed to find ways and means at the next courts of Sessions. But the rejection of the petitions which some of the Western towns had presented for redress the last autumn, left the people in no mood to comply with this extraordinary demand. They 8 October.
Contribution for palisades at Fort James ordered.

* Col. Doc., iii., 190; Court of Assizes, ii., 415; Council Min., iii., 27, 32, 34; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 145; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 80-82.

† Council Min., iii., 28-31; Court of Assizes, ii., 255, 563, 577, 584, 585; Doc. Hist., iv., 1088; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 118, 122; Dunlap, ii., App. cxviii.; Bolton, ii., 181, 182; *ante*, 94, 112.



CHAP. IV. were persuaded that the principle of "Taxation only by consent"—which Holland had maintained since 1477, and England had adopted in her Petition of Right in 1628—was their own birthright as British subjects. They had, for several years, paid a direct tax of a penny in the pound to defray their town charges. They had also submitted to the duke's customs' duties for the support of his government. But this last order of the Court of Assizes, where they were not represented, would, if yielded to, become a dangerous precedent: they might next be required to maintain the garrison, and they knew not what else. Southold, Southampton, and Easthampton, in a joint meeting of their delegates, agreed to contribute, provided that they might have the privileges which the king's other subjects in New England enjoyed. Huntington refused, because her people "were deprived of the liberties of Englishmen." Those of Jamaica declared that the order of the Assizes was inconsistent with the British Constitution; but if it was the king's absolute pleasure to "disprivilege" them, they would bear their burthens with patience until they could address him for relief. Flushing and Hempstead concurred with Jamaica; and the constables of the three towns laid their votes before the Court of Sessions of the North Riding, which was held at Jamaica; where, however, no action was taken. They were again presented the following week, at the Sessions of the West Riding, which met at Gravesend. At that court Secretary Nicolls presided, and Counselors Van Ruyven, Manning, and Thomas Lovelace were present as justices. It was there unanimously adjudged "that the said papers are in themselves false, scandalous, illegal, and seditious, tending only to disaffect all the peaceable and well-meaning subjects of His Majesty in these His Royal Highness's Territories and dominions;" and they were referred to the governor and his council for such action as should "best tend to the suppression of such mischief as may arise by the impression of false suggestions and jealousies." Upon this reference, Lovelace and his council ordered that these "scandalous, illegal, and seditious" papers should "be openly and publicly burned" before the Town Hall of the city of New York, at the next Mayor's Court, and that "the principal

1670.

Action of
the Long
Island
towns.

16 Decem.
Votes laid
before the
Sessions.

21 Decem.

Adjudged
to be sedi-
tious.

23 Decem.

Ordered to
be burned
in New
York.



contriver thereof be inquired into, and proceeded against according to their demerits, and the laws of the land established."^{*}

CHAP. IV.

1670.

It was easier to burn "seditious" votes than to subdue opinion. Most of the Long Island towns had, as we have seen, taken out new patents, in conformity with the law of 1666. But Southampton and Southold refused to comply. The latter claimed that their title from the Indians and from New Haven was sufficient. Southampton relied upon theirs from Lord Stirling. The Court of Assizes therefore declared invalid the titles to lands in Southamp-^{s October.} ton, unless a patent from the duke's government should be obtained for them within a certain time. This produced a spirited remonstrance from fifty of the inhabitants of that town, in which, among other things, they set forth that a new patent would be a grievance, and might make them and their posterity "groan like Israel in Egypt;" that they could not acknowledge the Duke of York to be the "sole Proprietor of the whole Island;" that, although Nicolls had promised them as great privileges as any colony in New England, they had no deputies at the courts, and were "forced to pay customs for goods imported, for which custom hath before been paid to His Majesty's use in England;" and that the royal commissioners, in August, 1664, had proclaimed that all should enjoy "whatsoever God's blessing and their own industry had furnished them withal." Lovelace, expecting leave to run over to England, replied that, to avoid "prolix debates," he would appoint commissioners to confer with them, and meanwhile recommended that they should observe the "golden rule of the Apostle, which is—be not high-minded, but fear." Counselors Delavall, Nicolls, and Bedlow were accordingly deputed to examine the cases of the recusant towns; but no other steps to enforce a compliance with the law were taken until several years afterward.[†]

1671.

15 Feb'y
Southamp-
ton Remon-
strance.2 March
Refered to
Council
1671.

The isolated inhabitants of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, however, were more tractable. Nicolls had ap-

^{*} Court of Assizes, ii., 650, 651, 652, 653; Col. Doc., iii., 303; Wood, 92-95, 151; Thompson, i., 140-149, 284; Dunlap, i., 121; H. App. cxvii.; Bancroft, i., 321; Council Journals, i., lxxvii., viii.; ante, p. 169; vol. i., 437, 442.

[†] Court of Assizes, ii., 591, 661-664; Wood, 91, 92, 175-177; Thompson, i., 143, 234, 344; ante, 26-329; ante, 25, 119; vol. i., 309, 301.



CHAP. IV. pointed Thomas Mayhew to superintend affairs there; but
 1671. as the relations between those islands and New York were
 June. vague, the governor notified their landholders to take out
 fresh patents. Mayhew accordingly came to New York in
 behalf of Martha's Vineyard, and Tristram Coffin, with
 28 June. Thomas Macy, represented Nantucket. Lovelace readily
 Nantucket and Mar- made Nantucket a township, and commissioned Coffin its
 tha's Vine- chief magistrate, in subordination to New York. A simi-
 yard incor- lar patent was granted to Martha's Vineyard, of which the
 porated. venerable Mayhew was appointed governor during his life.
 8 July. His grandson, Matthew Mayhew, was also commissioned as
 collector of the duke's customs for the several islands.*

Lovelace proved himself no bigot. John Booth, of
 Southold, whose children had been refused baptism by the
 Puritan minister, John Younge, declined to pay his tax for
 Younge's salary, and his cattle were distrained. Booth pe-
 8 July. tioned the governor and council for relief. Lovelace
 could not lawfully interfere; yet he wrote to Younge, re-
 10 July. proving his want of Christian charity, reminding him that
 Lovelace rebukes Younge, of Southold, for intolerance.
 the indulgence granted by Nicolls and himself was not in-
 tended to justify such severity toward others "of a differ-
 ent persuasion;" and adding, "I desire you not to insist on
 such rigorous courses against those who desire to live un-
 der the known and established laws of His Majesty's do-
 minions, lest I be forced to represent to His Royal High-
 ness the great inconveniences that may arise by it, and you
 be interrupted in the exercise of that Christian function
 you now so peaceably enjoy."†

Lutherans. The Lutherans in the province gave Lovelace the great-
 est trouble. He had been obliged to suspend their minis-
 ter, Fabricius, from preaching at Albany, but allowed him
 to exercise his function in New York. A quarrel broke out
 before long between Fabricius and his congregation, who
 were building a church "on ground without the gate," and
 19 July. Lovelace was obliged to interfere. Another Lutheran
 Fabricius and Aren- clergyman, Bernardus Arensius, "a gentle personage and
 sius. of a very agreeable behaviour," fortunately arrived about

* Council Min., iii., 26, 67, 68; Court of Assizes, iii., 533, 538; Deeds, iii., 58-63, 70-75; Hough's Nantucket Papers, 20-41, 70, 71, 129-131; Mass. H. S. Coll., xiii., 85; xxxvii., 30; ante, p. 139.

† Court of Assizes, ii., 735-737; Dec. Hist., iii., 209; Thompson, i., 383, 395; Wood, 34; Farmer and Moore's Coll., iii., 182.



this time at New York. Fabricius, having already received the governor's passport to go to the Delaware, was allowed, as his last clerical act, "to give his congregation a valedictory sermon, and to install the new-come minister, according to the custom used by those of their religion."²

The Reformed Dutch Church in the city had meanwhile wanted a colleague for Drisius, whose ill health prevented his doing much duty. Polhemus, of Flatbush, preached occasionally; and Ægidius Luyck, the former teacher of the grammar-school in New Amsterdam, who had returned from Holland, after studying divinity for a time, assisted by the foresinger Evert Pietersen, conducted divine service on Sundays. The Consistory, in January, 1670, had called Selyns, who formerly preached in Brooklyn, and was now settled at Wavereen, in Holland, to supply the place of Megapolensis, but he had declined their invitation. At the joint request of "the Elders and Deacons of the Church," and of the mayor and aldermen of the city, who desired that "some care may be taken for the supply of this place with an able and orthodox minister, of which they are at present wholly destitute," Lovelace, in June, 1670, declared, under his hand and the seal of the province, "that whensoever such a minister shall come over to this city, and undertake the charge aforementioned, I shall take care that there shall be duly and justly paid unto the said minister, or to his order, the value of One Thousand Guilders Holland's money, each year, and likewise that he shall have the accommodation of a convenient dwelling-house, rent free, together with his provision of firewood gratis." This being sent to Holland, Domine Wilhelmus van Nieuwenhuysen, an accomplished scholar and divine, was induced by his relative Selyns to accept the call, which was approved by the Classis of Amsterdam. On his arrival at New York he was installed as a colleague with Dris-

Reformed
Dutch
Church in
New York.

Van Nieu-
wenhuysen
called.

24 Aug. 1670.

CHAP. IV.

1671.

11 August.

Reformed
Dutch
Church in
New York.

Van Nieu.
wednesday - a
called.

24 Aug 41.

² Court of Assizes, II, 500, 503, 702, 725; Gen. Ent., iv., 15-17, 19, 304; Doc. Hist., iii., 242, 243, 525; Col. Doc., iii., 415, note; Munsell, iv., 14, 22, 23; S. Hazard, 181, 385, 388; C. Wallis's Two Years in New York, 57; Dunlap, i., 127, ante, 150. On the 18th of October, 1672, Arensius had a pass from the governor to go to Albany for the winter. The "Apostle," or Sexton of the Dutch Church there, had claimed the right enjoyed by such officials in Holland to conduct the funerals of all decedents in his parish; but on the 16th of June, 1672, it was ordered in Council that, as the Lutherans have a toleration for their religion, they may bury their own dead; and Delavall, in the following November, declared in the court at Albany, "Let the dead bury their dead." Gen. Ent., iv., 223; Council Mass., i., 103; Doc. Hist., iii., 525; Dunlap, ii., App. exix.



CHAP. IV. ius, to the "highest acceptance" of the people. The Consistory of the Dutch Church were soon afterward authorized by an order in council to lay taxes on the congregation for the support of the ministers and of the poor. Dris-
 1671.
 26 Septem. ius was also allowed one hundred pounds out of the public revenue for the partial services he had rendered during the last two years. By these various measures the Reformed Dutch Church was virtually "established" in New York by its English rulers.*

Although the Dutch inhabitants of New York had little cause for complaint, the inducements offered by the proprietaries of Carolina, where Sir John Yeamans had just arrived with slaves from Barbadoes, attracted some to emigrate thither. Two ships were accordingly sent by the proprietaries to convey them to Port Royal. But Love-
 Port Royal,
 in Caro-
 lina.
 9 Novem. lace, disliking the "fair and specious pretences" which were robbing his own government of its population, ordered that all persons resident in New York for more than six months should notify the secretary of their intended departure, and procure passports. Captains of vessels were
 13 Novem. also directed not to receive passengers on board unless duly authorized. Notwithstanding these restraints, nineteen heads of families obtained the necessary passports and embarked for Carolina, where they settled themselves on the Ashley River, and were afterward joined by others of their countrymen from New York and Holland.†

In New Jersey, the proposed restoration of which to the Duke of York had not been executed, Carteret's government went well, until the first payment of quit-rents to the proprietors became due on "Lady-day," or the 25th of March, 1670—the Old Style New-year's day. Open opposition was then shown, especially by those who held their lands under patents from Nicolls, or direct purchases from the savages. The governor could not prevail on them to

* Corr. Classis of Amst.; Records of Collegiate R. D. C., N. Y.; N. Y. City Rec., vi., 532, 533, 533, 665, 670-681, 750; Gen. Ent., iv., 47; Council Min., iii., 82; Col. Doc., ii., 470, 475; iii., 189; Hist. Mag., i. (ii.), 323, 324; Dunlap, i., 127; ii., App. exix.; C. Wolley, 56, 93; Murphy's Anthology of N. N., 146, 178; ante, 159; vol. i., 633, 694, 734. The elders and deacons of the "Reformed Christian Church in New York," who wrote to the Classis of Amsterdam on 5 June, 1670, were Petrus Stuyvesant, Oleff Stevensen van Cortlandt, Paulus Leendertsen van de Grist, Boele Roelofsen, Jacob T-unissen Kay, and Jacob Leisler.

† Gen. Ent., iv., 62, 63, 72; Chalmers, i., 530, 531, 557; Oldmixon, i., 464; Hewat, i., 5, 73; Holmes, i., 257, 367; Graham, i., 360, 361, 420, 422; Bancroft, ii., 170, 171; Smith, i., 47; Riker's Newtown, 100, 101; Gentleman's Magazine, 1740, p. 104.



recognize the rights of the proprietors, and anarchy began. Elizabethtown became the focus of disaffection, while Bergen and Woodbridge alone remained loyal.* CHAP. IV.
1671.

About this time a young man, destined to cause great trouble in the province—Captain James Carteret, the weak and dissolute second son of Sir George, and who, with John Locke, Sir John Yeamans, and others, had been created a landgrave of Carolina—stopped, on his way thither, at New Jersey. Some murders having been committed by the Indians on the Delaware, near Mattinicunk Island, Lovelace ordered Governor Carteret and his kinsman to advise with the council at New York. Carteret at once promised to call an extraordinary Assembly at Elizabethtown, and ascertain how far the people of New Jersey were willing to contribute for a general war with the savages. It was also agreed that a good correspondence should be kept up between the two governments, and nothing be done without a mutual understanding. At the appointed day Lovelace met Carteret at Elizabethtown; but the season being too far advanced for an effectual campaign, the officers on the Delaware were directed to enrol their militia, and engage the Susquehannas on their side. On this occasion Carteret was “ready with a handsome party to have stepped into the work;” and Lovelace was obliged to reprove his own subordinate, Carr, because “the backwardness of the inhabitants on the Delaware has put a stop to the forwardness of those in New Jersey.”†

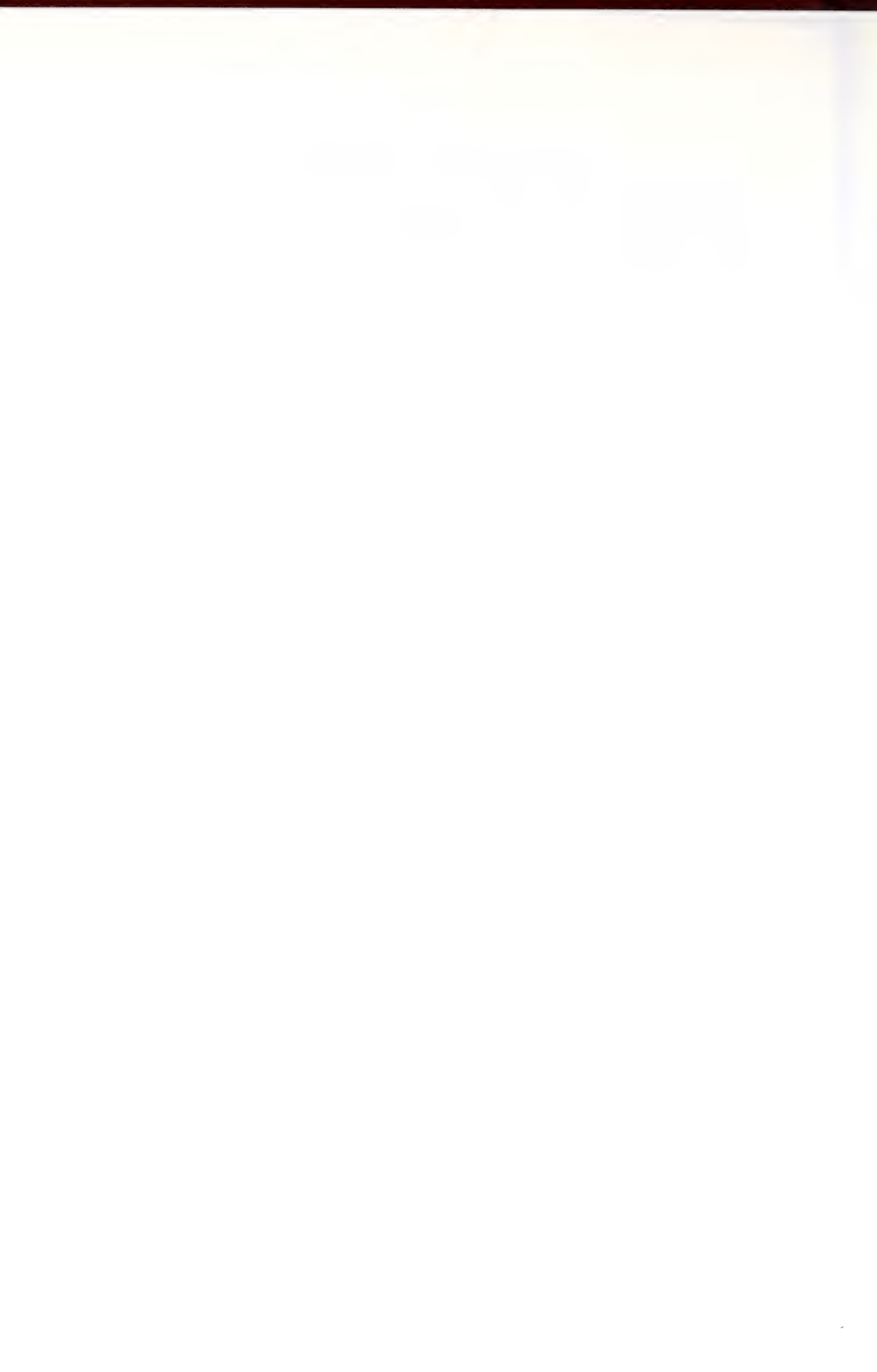
This autumn, Thomas Batts, with several Englishmen and Indians, under a commission from the authorities of Virginia, made an interesting tour “behind the Apuleian Mountains.” The party appear to have gone from the Appomattox to the head waters of the Great Kenhawa; and, as the first European explorers, they took possession of the whole country in the name of their king.‡

The movements of the French now caused much excitement in New York. Courcelles’s imperious message to the

* Eliz. B. II., 35; Chalmers, i., 616; Gordon, 29; Grahame, i., 465; Bancroft, ii., 319; Whitehead, 54, 55; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxvii., 319; *ante*, 150, 164.

† Gen. Ent., iv., 35, 42, 45, 50, 67; Council Min., iii., 71–73, 77–81; S. Smith, 69, 70, 71; Hazard, 388–392; Col. MSS., xx., 24, 25; Whitehead, 55, 59; Oldmixon, i., 464; Eliz. B. II., 37; Douglas, ii., 272; Collins, iv., 213; Chalmers, i., 528, 530, 616; *ante*, 164.

‡ Beverly, 58, 69; Burk, ii., 149–151; and Campbell, 268, 269, refer briefly to this expedition. The original journal of Batts was first published in N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., 193–197.



CHAP. IV. Senecas determined them to restore some of their Algonquin prisoners, whom they intrusted to the great Cayuga chief, Saouchiogoûia, to convey to Canada. On reaching Quebec, the Cayuga mediator arranged every thing satisfactorily with Courcelles; and, having declared himself a Christian, was baptized by Bishop Laval, receiving from Talon, his sponsor, the name of "Louis."*

1671.

Prairie de
la Made-
leine.

In 1669 the Jesuits had founded a "residence" at their Prairie de la Madeleine, on the south bank of the Saint Lawrence, a little below the Rapids of Saint Louis, and nearly opposite Montreal. It was intended as a place of repose for their missionaries, and Father Pierre Raffeix was appointed its first superintendent. Converts from the Oneidas, Mohawks, Mahicans, and other nations, on their way to the Huron colony of Notre Dame de Lorette, near Quebec, soon began to stop at the nearer Prairie; and Courcelles, observing the political importance of the "Reduction," it was established as a mission, under the name of "Saint Francis Xavier, des Prés." In 1671 Raffeix was sent to Cayuga, and Frémin was recalled from the Senecas to take charge of the new mission, which soon became very important, both to the Jesuits and the civil authorities of Canada.†

Iroquois
missions.

On the recall of Frémin, Bruyas became superior of the Iroquois missions, and, leaving Oneida, he went to the Mohawks to take the place of Pierron at Tionnontoguen, who now returned to Quebec. Millet, at Onondaga, encouraged by Garakontié, labored with such zeal that the savages, who always gave descriptive names, called him, as they had formerly called Le Mercier, *Tcharonhiagannra*, or "the looker up to heaven." Bruyas, however, transferred him to his own former mission at Oneida; and John de Lamberville, who had come out to Canada in 1668, succeeded Millet at Onondaga. Carheil, forced by a nervous disease to leave Cayuga, was replaced by Raffeix, who came from the Prairie de la Madeleine. After the departure of Frémin from the Senecas, Garnier was left in sole charge of the three stations of Conception, or Totiakto, Saint

* Relation, 1671, 3, 4; Charlevoix, ii., 230, 231; Shea, 259; ante, 169.

† Relation, 1671, 12, 13, 15; 1672, 16, 18; Douniol's Mission du Canada (Paris, 1861), i., 179, 180; ii., 49; Charlevoix, ii., 233, 257; v., 261; Col. Doc., ix., 116, 130; Shea, 255, 256-258; Feillon, iii., 316, 317; Colden, i., 53, 54; Smith, i., 69; Garneau, i., 203.



Michael, or Gandagaraé, and Saint James, or Gannagara. CHAP. IV.
 In the spring of this year the village of Saint Michael, or
 Gandagaraé, was burned, and the chapel, with all Gar-
 nier's effects, were destroyed. But the greatest grief of the
 lonely missionary was the drunkenness "caused by the li-
 quors which the savages brought from the Hollanders for
 more than eighty leagues over land."*

1671.

In writing to Talon, Colbert recommended that a good
 correspondence should be kept up with the English, and a
 mutual trade established. The dispatch of La Salle to the
 South, and of Saint Lussou to the North, was approved;
 "but the principal thing to which you ought to apply your-
 self in discoveries of this nature, is to look for the copper
 mine. Were this mine once discovered, and its utility evi-
 dent, it would be an assured means to attract several
 Frenchmen from Old to New France."†

11 March.
 Colbert's
 orders to
 Talon.

Meanwhile Perrot, after visiting the copper mine in
 Lake Superior, had summoned the Western Indians to
 meet at the Falls of Saint Mary; and Saint Lussou, who
 had wintered on Lake Huron, went thither to join the Fa-
 May.
 thers Dablon, Druillettes, Allouez, and André. Soon four-
 teen different savage nations were represented in an assem-
 bly. The arms of France were placed on a cross on the
 top of a hill; the "Vexilla" and the "Exaudiat" were
 14 June.
 chanted, the "Te Deum" was sung, and possession was
 taken, in the name of the king, "with all the pomp and
 éclat the country could afford." Talon exultingly prophe-
 28 June.
 The French
 in the
 Northwest.
 sied to Louis that this part of his monarchy would "be-
 come something grand." The foreign colonies, "so long
 settled on the sea-board, already tremble with affright in
 view of what His Majesty has accomplished here in the
 interior within seven years." * * * "They are already
 aware that the King's name is spread so far abroad among
 the savages throughout all those countries, that he alone
 is there regarded by them as the arbiter of Peace and
 War. All detach themselves insensibly from the other
 Europeans; and, with the exception of the Iroquois, of
 whom I am not yet assured, we may safely promise our-

* Relation, 1671, 14-24; 1672, 12, 21; Col. MSS., xxxv., 160; Col. Doc., iii., 251, 252; iv., 174, 266, 267, 268; Shea, 268, 276, 277, 281, 282, 288, 291; *ante*, 148, 162. Mr. Shea's note on this edition of Colden, p. 135, is evidently erroneous.

† Col. Doc., ix., 63, 64, 70, 757, 759; *ante*, 170.



CHAP. IV. selves to make the others take up arms whenever we please."*

1671.

11 March.
Colbert's
orders to
Courcelles.

When he wrote to Talon, Colbert also instructed Courcelles that he need not visit the Iroquois, and, as troops could not be sent from France, he and the Intendant might do as they thought best on Lake Ontario. This piqued the governor, whom Talon had represented as being sluggish. He therefore determined to make a showy voyage up the Saint Lawrence; to strike terror into the Senecas and other remote tribes; to establish a post which would prevent the Iroquois—who had exhausted the country south of Lake Ontario, and were now hunting elk and beaver among the Hurons and Ottawas—from taking their peltries to the Dutch and English; and to ascertain whether a colony near the foot of Lake Ontario would not aid future explorations of his countrymen toward the Mississippi. A large plank bateau was accordingly built at Montreal, in which Courcelles proposed to ascend the Rapids of the Saint Lawrence, to convince the savages—who thought that their own light bark canoes could alone perform the feat—"that the French could accomplish something they were incapable of." In spite of all sneers, a flat-boat of two or three tons burthen was loaded with provisions, and thirteen Indian canoes carried the rest of the expedition, which was fifty-six men in all. Courcelles embarked at La Chine, accompanied by Perrot, the governor of Montreal, and other French officers, and by the Sulpitian Father Dollier—who had already visited Ontario with La Salle—as chaplain. With great labor the heavy bateau was dragged up the several rapids as far as "Otondiata," now called Grenadier Island, a few leagues above Ogdensburg. There it was left under a guard, while Courcelles went in his bark canoe through "beautiful tranquil waters almost without a ripple," past the "Thousand Is'lands," to the mouth of Lake Ontario, which appeared "like an open sea without any bounds." Charles le Moyne, the inter-

3 June.
Courcelles's
voyage to
Lake Ontario.

10 June.

11 June.

* Col. Doc., ix., 72, 73, 97, 304, 333, 626, 700, 803, 804; Relation, 1671, 20-23, 31, 35, 42, 43; La Potherie, ii., 124-129; Charlevoix, ii., 234-238; Hist. Mag., ix., 206; Bancroft, iii., 154, 155; Faillon, iii., 307, 308; Shea's Missions, 361-365; Disc. of Miss., 69. On this visit, Perrot appears to have discovered the long-talked-of Ontonagon copper mines near Keewena Point, on Lake Superior, which Colbert and Talon were so anxious to find out, and which have since developed such wonderful riches: see Relation, 1667, 8; 1670, 83-86; 1671, 25; 1672, 2; ante, 170.



preter, soothed by judicious presents the jealousy of some
 Iroquois who were catching eels, which abounded there; and letters were sent by them to the missionaries, directing that the reasons of Courcelles's voyage should be published in the several villages. After enjoying the astonishment of the savages at the sight of his heavy bateau triumphantly reposing at Otondiata, the governor safely descended the rapids; and in three days reached Montreal without the loss of a man. The flat-boat of Courcelles was the first European-built vessel which ever accomplished the adventure, now safely performed every summer's day in vast steamers, guided by the confidence of practiced skill. The effect of the expedition was at once apparent. Several of the missionaries, on their return from the Iroquois country, reported that it had alarmed the cantons so much that they recalled their warriors from an expedition against the Andastes, and resolved to send an embassy the next spring to learn from Onnontio the reasons of his voyage, and what they must now expect.*

CHAP. IV.

1671.

12 June.

13 June.

17 June.

Effect of
 Courcelles's ex-
 pedition on
 the Iro-
 quois.

The influence of Courcelles's expedition was not confined to the savages. Exaggerated accounts of it were sent to New York, where a panic broke out, and some prepared to move away before the French could reach them. Lovelace, returning in haste from Staten Island, where he was looking for a mill-seat on his farm, wrote to Delavall at Albany that, as there was peace in Europe, Courcelles would not dare to "commence a warr on his own head." A fortnight afterward, the governor, having appointed Steenwyck to act in his absence, left the fort in charge of Manning, and went up to Albany. Various arrangements were made for its better government. Deputies from the several Iroquois nations having arrived there, peace was made between them and the Mahicans; which, however, proved to be as annoying to the French as it was welcome to the English.†

Effect of
 Courcelles's ex-
 pedition at
 New York.

6 July.

19 July.

2 Aug. at
 Peace be-
 tween the
 Iroquois
 and Mahi-
 cans.

* Col. Doc., ix., 70, 71, 75-85, 96; x., 349; Relation, 1671, 2; Charlevoix, ii., 188, 190, 191; v., 486; Gent. Mag., xxvii., 74; Sauthier's Map in Doc. Hist., i.; ante, 162. Charlevoix erroneously dates Courcelles's voyage in 1670 instead of 1671. It was my good fortune to discover, in the Royal Library at Paris, the original and very interesting account of this voyage, by Dollier, of which a translation is printed in N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., 75-85; see also Follen, iii., 231-236.

† Court of Assizes, ii., 732; Gen. Ent., iv., 10, 282-284; Munsell, iv., 21, 24-26; Relation, 1671, 17; 1672, 21; Follen, iii., 326; Douniel, i., 4, 5; Ebea, 251; Mass. H. S. Coll., i., 163.



CHAP. IV.

1671.

9 March.
North Riv-
er vessels.

12 July.

7 Septem.
Manning
high-sher-
iff of York-
shire.13 Novem.
Fordham
patent
in West-
chester.

Notwithstanding the orders of the previous year, vessels not belonging to the city of New York continually went up the North River to trade at Esopus and Albany; and the governor, on the complaint of the metropolitan burghers, renewed the prohibition, with directions to the custom-house officers to take a strict account. As a special favor, Counselor Willett's sloop was declared a privileged vessel, although it had not been built in the province. Isaac Grevenraet, who had just been appointed to succeed Beekman, as sheriff of Esopus, was directed to keep an account of all vessels coming there.*

According to the Duke's laws, the high-sheriff of Yorkshire was to be appointed every year from each of the ridings in turn. Warned by the recent exhibitions of the temper of the Long Island people, Lovelace thought that this office should now be held by one of his own immediate dependents. He accordingly commissioned Captain John Manning in place of Robert Coe. The captain, who had been sheriff of the metropolis since 1667, was succeeded in that office by Allard Anthony.†

John Archer, of Westchester, having purchased a part of the old estate of Van der Donck, built a new village "near unto the passage commonly called Spiting Devil;" the place being "the road for passengers to go to and fro from the main, as well as for mutual intercourse with the neighboring colony" of Connecticut. Lovelace therefore made Archer's property an enfranchised township, with the usual immunities, by the name of the Manor of Fordham, upon condition that its inhabitants should always send forward to the next town all public packets and letters coming to New York, or going thence to any of His Majesty's colonies.‡

The Peace of Breda brought advantage to the banished New Netherland Counselor, John de Decker, whom the

Colden, I, 35; Col. Dec., ii., 580. It is a hardly excusable blunder in Dunlap, I, 125, 126, to make Lovelace go to Albany in 1671, to meet Kendall and Littleton, of Virginia, who did not visit that place until September, 1679: Colden, i., 42, 43.

* Court of Assizes, ii., 559, 657, 659, 660; Gen. Ent., iv., 3; Val. Man., 1860, 540; Val. N. Y., 72, 103; Munsell, iv., 18, 21, 22; ante, 168.

† Court of Assizes, ii., 534; Gen. Ent., iv., 26, 201; Council Min., iii., 148; C. Welley, 89; Val. Man., 1860, 528, 529; N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 385; Wood, 150; Thompson, I, 284; ante, 70, 128.

‡ Patents, iv., 79-82; Bolton, ii., 179, 320-322; Col. Dec., iii., 303; ante, vol. I., 421, 501; ii., 124, note.



Duke of York referred to Lovelace for the redress of any grievances he might have suffered. De Decker's case was accordingly considered by the governor, who gave him, as a peace-offering, a tract of land on Staten Island. The settlement of Deckertown, in Sussex County, New Jersey, perpetuates the name of Stuyvesant's honest, and perhaps too patriotic commissioner.*

CHAP. IV.

1671.

9 January.
De Decker's case.

Perhaps the most interesting domestic transaction of this year was the purchase by Lovelace of the greater part of "the Domine's Bouwery," or about sixty-two acres of land, between the present Warren and Christopher Streets, in the city of New York, which had formerly been in the possession of the Dutch Domine Everardus Bogardus and his widow. This property had been confirmed to their heirs, by Nicolls, in 1667. It adjoined the old West India Company's farm, which the duke now held by virtue of its confiscation by Nicolls. But in the spring of 1671 several of the heirs of Bogardus and his wife sold the old domine's estate to Lovelace, who appears to have held it for some time in his own right. It was afterward vested in the Duke of York, and then in the crown; and, by a curious train of events, the original Bouwery of the Dutch clergyman of Manhattan at length made part of the estate now enjoyed by the corporation of Trinity Church.†

9 March.
Purchase of the
"Domine's
Bouwery" by Lovelace.

The new year was marked by an impressive local event. Since his return from Holland, Stuyvesant had remained for four years quietly at his "Bouwery," taking no part in public affairs. Having made his will, the veteran calmly died at the age of eighty years, and was buried in a vault under the little chapel he had built near his country house. Crowded thoroughfares now surround the spot where his ashes rest; and a pear-tree from the fatherland, planted by his own hands, until recently put forth its annual foliage, amid the hum of busy multitudes.‡

1672.

February.
Death of
Stuyvesant.

* Court of Assizes, ii., 635, 636; N. Y. Surr. Rec. Wills, i., 52, 53; Val. Man., 1847, 369, 370; O'Call., ii., 305; Gordon's Gaz. of N. J., 127; ante, 46.

† Rec. Clerk's Off., City and County of N. Y.; Val. Man., 1855, 531, 532; 1850, 548; Valentine's N. Y., 132; Sandford's Chancery Rep., iv., 633, 726; Paige, iv., 178; Hoffman's Treatise, i., 116, 117; ii., 150-159; Col. Doc., iii., 226; ante, vol. i., 266; ii., 50.

‡ N. Y. H. S. Coll. i. (ii.), 299, 400, 454; N. Y. Surr. Rec. Wills, i.; Smith, i., 33; Dunlap, i., 118; Thompson, i., 129, note; Val. Man., 1852, 413; 1861, 531; Barber and Howe's N. Y. Coll., 329. The pear-tree, surrounded by an iron railing, stood at the corner of Third Avenue and Thirtieth Street, until it was destroyed in February, 1867. The inscription on the tablet in the wall of Saint Mark's Church, over the vault in which Stuyvesant was



CHAP. IV.

Affairs on the Delaware requiring his personal attention, Lovelace set out overland, with an escort of horse, under the command of Captain Nicolls. Passing in great state from Neversink through New Jersey, he crossed the Delaware at Jegow's new house, near Mattituncunk Island, and reached Newcastle. On his return to New York, Newcastle was incorporated as a bailiwick; English laws were established on the Delaware; and the officers at the Hoar-kill were directed to oppose all pretenses of the Maryland authorities, and obey only the orders of the Duke of York's governor, "until His Majesty's or His Royal Highness's pleasure be signified to the contrary."*

Rumors of a new war in Europe now made Lovelace take special care for the defense of New York. A third company of foot was organized in the city, which Martin Kregier was commissioned to command. A volunteer troop of horse was also raised, of which Cornelis Steenwyck was appointed captain, Dudley Lovelace lieutenant, and Gabriel Minvielle cornet; and the new forces were ordered to be ready for the next General Training in May.†

There was need of precaution. Charles the Second disliked the Triple Alliance; he hated the Dutch, who had burned his ships at Chatham; he wanted money for his pleasures, and was restive under the restraint of the House of Commons. The Duke of York, who had become a Roman Catholic, encouraged his brother to carry on a clandestine negotiation with Louis, and a secret treaty was signed between them in May, 1670, by which, among other things, the King of England agreed to profess the Roman faith, and join the King of France in making war against the Protestant Dutch Republic. In return for this, Charles was to receive enough money from Louis to make him independent of Parliament. Another treaty was openly negotiated in January, 1671, by which it was stipulated that England was to annex Zealand, and France all the other Dutch provinces except Holland, which was to be the

1672.

8 March.
Lovelace
visits the
Delaware.
12 March.

17 May.

26 Febr'y.
Military
arrange-
ments in
New York.
24 April.

England
and France
unite
against the
Dutch.

buried, erroneously states that he died in "August, A.D. 1682," instead of February, 1672. An epitaph on Stuyvesant, written by Domine Selyns, is in Murphy's *Anthology of New Netherland*, 160.

* Council Min., iii., 92, 93, 94, 97; Gen. Ent., iv., 110-114, 184; Col. MSS., xx., 26-35; S. Hazard, 595-597, 400; Hist. Bull., 4; Bancroft, iii., 319; *ante*, 164.

† Gen. Ent., iv., 105, 128; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 89; *ante*, vol. i., 631, 665, 712, 724.



share of the Prince of Orange if he would come into the arrangement. William—who had been declared entitled to precedence next after the Duke of York, “as nephew to His Majesty, and a grandchild of England”—was invited to London, where his birthday was celebrated with extraordinary pomp. A marriage between him and his beautiful cousin Mary was projected. But the Dutch prince was not to be bought. “The King of England,” wrote Colbert de Croissi from London, to Louis, in December, 1670, “is much satisfied with the parts of the Prince of Orange. But he finds him so passionate a Dutchman and Protestant, that even although your Majesty had not disapproved of his trusting him with any part of the secret, those two reasons would have hindered him.” Temple was now recalled from the Hague, and in July, 1671, was replaced by Downing, the mean-spirited enemy of Holland. It was agreed that the Dutch should mainly be fought by England at sea, and by France on land. To obtain money for equipping his fleet, Charles adopted the iniquitous expedient, foreseen by Ashley, suggested by Clifford, and recommended by the “Cabal,” of closing the English Exchequer, and seizing the moneys loaned to the nation by its confiding creditors.*

With characteristic perfidy, the English captured the Dutch Smyrna fleet, which was coming home, unconscious of danger. “No clap of thunder on a fair day,” wrote Temple, “could more astonish the world.” But the captors received “little save blows, and a worthy reproach.” A few days afterward Charles declared war against the Dutch; and Louis soon followed. The young Prince of Orange was made captain general of the Dutch army; but their navy was intrusted to the veteran skill of De Ruyter. James, Duke of York, and Lord High Admiral of England,

CHAP. IV.

1672.

William,
Prince of
Orange.2 Jan'y.
English
Exchequer
closed.

3 March.

17 May.

April
England
and France
declare war
against
Holland.

* Temple, i., 463; ii., 173, 178, 180, 181, 251; Reresby, 18; Dalrymple, i., 42-47, 96-129; Clarke's James II., i., 440-457; Courtenay's Temple, i., 271, 338-352, 415; ii., 481; Bacon's ii., 59, 60, 98-107, 110, 116-118, 133-141, 182-192; Kennett, iii., 279, 284; Burnet, i., 260-268; Rapin, ii., 655, 656, 660-662; Anderson, ii., 522; Evelyn, ii., 76; Davies, iii., 71-81; Lavallée, iii., 219, 220; Martin, i., 306-319; Lingard, xii., 239-273, 369-380; Hume, vi., 432-440, 445-448; Mackintosh, 314-319; Macaulay, i., 204-216; King's Life of Locke, 35, 56; Campbell's Chancellors, iii., 305. It has been commonly supposed that the word “Cabal” was derived from the initials of Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, who were the ministers of Charles the Second in 1672. But that term was used in England as early as 1665, to signify what is generally called “the Cabinet.” Pepys, iii., 212; ii., 525; ante, 5.



CHAP. IV. commanded its fleet, while the French ships were led by D'Estreés. De Ruyter quickly attacked the combined English and French fleet lying in Southwold Bay, or Solebay, on the coast of Suffolk. A bloody, but indecisive action followed. The Duke of York was attended on board his flag-ship by Colonel Richard Nicolls, his late governor of New York, who was killed by an avenging Dutch cannon ball. The duke's secretary, Matthew Wren, was mortally wounded at his side. The Dutch had the advantage; and the French prudently looked on while the naval rivals destroyed each other. Yet all this carnage was caused, said the calm and candid English Evelyn, "for no provocation but that the Hollanders exceeded us in industry, and in all things but envy."*

1672.

25 May.

7 June.

Battle of
Solebay.Death of
Nicolls and
Wren.

In the mean time, Charles, "very intent" about the settlement of his American colonies, had appointed a new Council for Foreign Plantations, and made the Duke of York and others, of whom one was John Evelyn, additional members. The first inquiry of the council was into the condition of the "peevish and touchy" colonies in New England. Colonel Cartwright, Nicolls's old colleague, gave the council "a considerable relation of that country;" and it was determined to send new commissioners, with secret instructions, to ascertain whether those colonies were able to resist the king and "declare for themselves as independent of the crown."

1670.

30 July.

1671.

4 April.

26 May.

New Plan-
tation
Council in
England.

21 June.

3 August.

12 August.

1672. The Dutch war, however, postponed action on this point; although orders were sent to the plantations that none of their ships should venture home without convoys; and it was considered who would be fit commissioners to go to New England. The affairs of New York were also noticed. Dissatisfied with Lovelace's government, Easthampton, Southampton, and Southold represented to the king that they were more heavily taxed than his subjects in New England, were not represented by "deputys in Court,"

12 Feby.

3 July.

* Basnage, ii., 192-200; Sylvius, i., 191-208, 243-249; Clarke's James II., i., 456-481; Evelyn, i., 375, 402; ii., 75, 76, 80, 82; Pepys, ii., 361; iv., 235; Kennett, iii., 285, 287, 288; Rapin, ii., 662-664; Lyson's Mag. Britt., i., 39; Davies, iii., 90-104; Lingard, xii., 265-283; Hume, vi., 449-456; Anderson, ii., 522; Martin, i., 327, 328. In the Ampthill Church, Bedfordshire, England, is a mural monument to Richard Nicolls, on which is represented a cannon ball, with the inscription "*Instrumentum mortis et immortalitatis*." A copy of Nicolls's epitaph is in N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc. for 1844, p. 117. It is a curious coincidence that the conqueror, Nicolls, should have followed Stuyvesant to the grave within a few months.



and were obliged to obey laws imposed by others, who insulted over them, and threatened to cut down their timber. As they had purchased their lands from Lord Stirling's deputy, and had formerly been under Connecticut, they prayed that they might "be continued under the Government and Patent of Mr. Winthrop, or else that they may be a free corporation as His Majesties subjects." The king referred the petition to the Plantation Council for a report, and directed that notice should be given to the Duke of York's commissioners that they might attend when it should be considered. The council accordingly read Lord Stirling's conveyances, on which the petitioners relied; but as the whole of Long Island was clearly within the Duke of York's patent, no farther action appears to have been taken.*

CHAP. IV.

1672.

The Long Island representation disregarded in England.

19 July.

The next autumn the supervision of trade and commerce was added to the former functions of the Plantation Council. Of this new council the versatile Ashley, recently created Earl of Shaftesbury, was made president; and, through his influence, John Locke, "an excellent learned gentleman and student of Christ Church," at Oxford, was appointed its secretary, while John Evelyn continued to be a member. The first business of the council was to warn the governor of Jamaica of a design of the Dutch against that island.†

24 October
Locke and Evelyn in the English Plantation Council.

Meanwhile the king had directed Lovelace to take care that all ships bound for Europe should sail in company, in March, June, and September, that an additional battery should be made at New York, and that the whole government should be put in a condition of defense. As soon as war was declared, the several colonies were warned against the private men-of-war which were being prepared in Holland and Zealand, and were directed to take effectual precautions for their own safety, as well as to seize all Dutch ships and property within their territories.‡

10 March.
Precautions in the English American colonies directed.

3 April.

When the king's letter reached Lovelace, prompt meas-

* Col. Doc., iii., 21, 22, 190-193, 197, 198; Sainsbury, i., 298; Evelyn, ii., 60, 62-65, 74; Palfrey, iii., 23, 273, 274; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxii., 285; xxxvii., 316; ante, 158.

† Col. Doc., iii., 228; Evelyn, ii., 83, 85, 86; Anderson, ii., 522, 523; Palfrey, iii., 33. Locke gave up his secretaryship when his patron, Shaftesbury, quarreled with the court in November, 1673. King's Life of Locke (Bohn's ed.), 34; Evelyn, ii., 74, 94-95; *post*, p. 249.

‡ Evelyn, ii., 74; Council Min., iii., 99, 100; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 559, 560.



CHAP. IV. ures were taken for defense. Younge, at Southold, was warned to be on his guard. Instead of a compulsory tax, a contribution, or "benevolence" from each town, was asked by the governor for the repair of Fort James. Thomas Lovelace, High-sheriff Manning, Allard Anthony, Captain Richard Morris,* Thomas Gibbs, and Francis Rombouts were appointed commissioners to receive and expend the moneys collected. On the king's declaration of war coming to hand, it was proclaimed at the Fort Gate and the City Hall, and the fortifications vigorously pushed forward. Counselors Delavall and Steenwyck were dispatched to put Albany in a state of defense. Already the commerce of New York suffered; and Lovelace's own ship, the "Good Fame," with three others belonging to the port, were seized in Holland.†

1672.
24 May.
30 May.
Lovelace's
action in
New York.
24 June.
3 July.
11 July.

6 July.

18 July.

12 March.
Territorial
question
between
New York
and Massa-
chusetts.
8 August.

23 October.

1673.
7 May.

The restriction of the navigation of the Hudson to New York vessels brought up an interesting question. Massachusetts had insisted, in 1659, that her territory extended as far as the Hudson, and Stuyvesant had distinctly rejected her claim. But the Massachusetts governor now wrote to Lovelace, desiring that her boundary might be settled, and free passage up and down the Hudson be allowed to her people. This letter was brought to New York by John Paine, of Boston, who was interested in the Massachusetts grant of 1659. Lovelace, however, declined to recognize any rights claimed by Massachusetts, which ought to have been settled by the royal commissioners; and he referred the whole subject to the Duke of York. On his return to Boston, Paine obtained the grant of a tract of land ten miles square, "at or near Hudson's River," and free trade with the Indians forever. But, as Massachusetts vessels could not navigate that river, and "because a hill of a vast extent impedes the passage to that

* Captain Richard Morris died soon after this, leaving an only son, Lewis; and administration of his estate was granted to Secretary Nicolls and others, by whom word was sent to Lewis Morris, of Barbadoes, an elder brother of the deceased: N. Y. Surr. Rec. Wills, I, 173; Bolton, II, 287, 288; Col. Doc., II, 595, 617; *ante*, 140, *note*.

† Council Min., III, 99, 100, 103, 114, 115; Gen. Ent., IV, 57, 139, 148, 149, 156, 161, 165, 170; Col. MSS., xcii., 130, 134; Thompson, I, 459; Col. Doc., III, 185; *ante*, 152. The declaration of war against the Dutch was proclaimed at Boston on the 28th of May, 1672, the first instance of such a measure; Connecticut called a special court for 26 June, and Rhode Island took similar precautions: Mass. Rec., IV, (ii.), 517; Hutch., I, 283, 284; Coll., 441; Palfrey, III, 129; Col. Rec. Conn., II, 180-183, 559-561; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx, 52, 53; E. I. Rec., II, 461-464.



place," Paine was allowed to take up another tract, "into which passage may be found for transportation overland."* CHAP. IV.

The visit of Paine to New York, however, gave rise to another claim of territory. He had bought Prudence Island, in Narragansett Bay, from the representatives of Williams and Winthrop, and was astonished to find that Lovelace claimed it as belonging to New York under the duke's patent. The pretension was as absurd as that of Massachusetts to any part of the Valley of the Hudson. Nevertheless, Paine thought it best to take a patent for his island from Lovelace, who readily gave it, in consideration of liberal contributions to the repair of Fort James. By Lovelace's patent, Prudence Island was made a free town-ship, under the name of "Sophy Manor," of which Paine was appointed governor for his life, subordinate to the jurisdiction of New York. But Rhode Island, very properly resenting Lovelace's usurpation, arrested the unfortunate Paine; who, not long afterward, was convicted of attempting to introduce a foreign jurisdiction.†

In New Jersey, disaffection had meanwhile grown so strong that those who desired to escape paying the proprietors' quit-rents sent deputies to an anarchical assembly at Elizabethtown, which deposed Governor Philip Carteret, and appointed in his place his newly-arrived cousin, Captain James Carteret, the "weak and dissolute," but legitimate younger son of Sir George. Lovelace and his council did their best to reconcile the dispute; but the usurper rejected the friendly offices of New York, and claimed that he was justified by the instructions of the proprietors of New Jersey. Philip Carteret therefore appointed Captain John Berry to be his deputy, and sailed for Guernsey under a passport from Lovelace, accompanied by Secretary James Bollen, to state the case at London. After Philip Carteret's departure, James, who usurped his office, corresponded with Lovelace; but without any result.‡

* *Ante*, 168, 182; vol. i., 657, 671, 672; Col. Doc., vi., 143, 159; vii., 224, 234, 563, 564, 566, 597; viii., 371, 459; Hutch., i., 159, 160; Gen. Ent., iv., 177, 178, 179; Col. MSS., xxii., 137, 149; Mass. Rec., iv. (L), 395, 396 (il.), 548, 553, 570; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxvii., 512. The Western Railroad from Springfield to Albany now triumphantly surmounts this "hill of a vast extent."

† *Patents*, iv., 86-90; Col. MSS., xxii., 133, 139; R. I. Col. Rec., i., 45, 46; Arnold, i., 87; Mass. Rec., 360; Palfrey, iii., 169.

‡ Council Min., iii., 101; Gen. Ent., iv., 142-143, 171, 207, 268, 215; Eliz. Bill in Chan-

1672.

Question about Prudence Island, in Rhode Island.

25 July.

7 August.

6 Septem.

9 Septem.

23 October

29 October.

14 May. James Carteret assumes the government of New Jersey.

11 June

14 June.

1 July.

29 July.

18 Septem.

12 October

13 October



- CHAP. IV. Fresh troubles now occurred on the Delaware. A party
 1672. of Marylanders came to the Hoarkill, and, assisted by
 Daniel Brown, a planter, assaulted the magistrates, and
 carried off all the plunder they could. Brown was after-
 1 July. ward sent a prisoner to New York, where he was tried and
 convicted, but was released on promise of amendment.
 12 August. Lovelace quickly rebuked Calvert for allowing his people
 Maryland. to commit, for a second time, such outrages in the Duke
 truculence. rebuked by of York's territories "in these portending troublous times,
 New York. wherein all true-hearted Englishmen are buckling on their
 armour," and required him to punish the offenders. The
 New York governor's prompt intervention saved Delaware
 from "the imminent peril of being absorbed in Maryland."
 The Duke of York was soon advised of the truculence of
 7 October. Lord Baltimore's agents; and Carr was directed to guard
 against the Maryland people, who, following up "their
 former violent action" in 1669, had again invaded a de-
 pendency of New York, "after so long quiet possession of
 those parts by His Royal Highness's deputies under His
 Majesty's obedience, and by other nations before that, sev-
 eral years before the date of the Lord Baltimore's patent,
 whom they never disturbed by arms, and whose right is
 now devolved upon the Duke."*

- A memorable event of this year was the visit of the En-
 glish Quaker, George Fox, to America. Sailing to Barba-
 does, he spent several months there with Lewis Morris and
 other "Friends." Early in 1672 he went to Jamaica, and
 March. thence to Maryland. Passing through Newcastle, Fox
 traversed the wilderness of New Jersey to Middletown,
 April.

cery, 35; N. J. H. S. Proc., i. (ii.), 23, 30; Douglas, ii., 269, 271, 272; Chalmers, i., 616; S. Smith, 68; Gordon, 29; Bancroft, ii., 319; Whitehead, 55-57; Collins's Peerage, iv., 213; *ante*, 177. James Carteret seems to have enjoyed the genial society of New York during the winter, as he was married, by license from Lovelace, on 15 April, 1672, to Frances, daughter of Counselor Thomas Delavall: Gen. Ent., iv., 277; N. Y. Marriages (1869), 68, 105. He appears to have been a sad rake, and "a very profligate person," but of "a good understanding." He was afterward separated from his wife and allowed an annuity by his father, who would not "acknowledge him as his son, as before:" see Dankers's and Sluyter's Journal (1857), 137, 138. See also Hist. Mag., x., 157, for a notice of the descendants of James Carteret and Frances Delavall. There is no reason for the brand of *illegitimacy* which Whitehead, 55, and Mulford, 152, have endeavored to stamp on James Carteret: compare Fliz. Bill, 35; Collins's Peerage, iv., 213; Douglas, ii., 272; Chalmers, i., 616, 625. "Natural," as used by Chalmers, does not mean "illegitimate;" Hist. Mag., ii. (iii.), 110.

* Council Min., iii., 119; Gen. Ent., iv., 188, 189, 211-213; S. Smith, 72-76; Hazard's Ann. Penn., 397-402, 405; Bancroft, ii., 238, 319, 320; Proud, i., 131, 132; Col. MSS., xx., 37, 38; Col. Doc., iii., 150; *ante*, 164. Yet Chalmers, i., 361, 624, affirms that Calvert took possession of the country around Cape Henlopen, which the Dutch "had relinquish-
 ed;" and Grahame repeats Chalmers's falsehood.



and went from there to Gravesend, on Long Island. At Oyster Bay he calmed the quarrels of the "Friends." At Rhode Island he met several Connecticut Quakers. From there he crossed over to Shelter Island, accompanied by several "Friends," one of whom was "John Jay, a planter in Barbadoes." He visited Oyster Bay, Flushing, and Jamaica again, and held several "precious meetings." On his return through New Jersey, Fox came near losing his companion, Jay, who was thrown from his horse, but was restored by the skill of the Quaker apostle. At Newcastle, Fox was lodged by Carr in his own house, where the first Quaker meeting in Delaware was held. After revisiting Maryland, Fox passed on to Virginia and North Carolina, and in the spring of the following year sailed from the Chesapeake for England.*

CHAP. IV.

1672.

June.
Visit of
George
Fox to
America.
August.

Septem.

There were, at this time, seven Jesuit missionaries among the five Iroquois nations. Bruyas, the superior, remained with Boniface among the Mohawks, who still kept on their guard against their old enemies, the Mahicans. At Oneida, Millet found the savages as obdurate as the rock from which they derived their name. John de Lamberville, at Onondaga, aided by the active zeal of Garakontié, had better hopes.†

Jesuit mis-
sionaries
among the
Iroquois.

Carheil, now cured of his disease, returned to the Cayugas, and Raffeix was transferred to assist Garnier among the Senecas. In a letter to Dablon, Raffeix described Cayuga as "the most beautiful country I have seen in America. It is situated in latitude 42 degrees and a half, and the needle dips there scarcely more than ten degrees. It lies between two lakes, and is not more than four leagues wide, with almost continuous plains, while the woods which border them are very beautiful. Mohawk is a narrow valley, often very stony, and always covered with fogs. The mountains which enclose it seem to me to be of very poor soil. Oneida and Onondaga appear to be a very rugged country, and little adapted to hunting. The same is true of Seneca. Every year they kill more than a thousand

24 June.
Raffeix's
description
of Cayuga.

* Fox's Journal (Phil. ed.), 435-464; Sewall, 509-512; Col. Doc., ii., 619; Arnold, I., 569, 571; Thompson, ii., 82, 83; Hazard's Reg. Penn., vi., 151; Falfrey, iii., 106-108; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxvii., 288; *ante*, vol. i., 635. Fox returned to Bristol on the 28th of June, 1673.
† Lelution, 1672, 18-22; 1672-3, 32-39; Douville, i., 4-8; Charlevoix, ii., 222, 231, 232; Alca, 125, 268, 281-283; *ante*, 151.



CHAP. IV. deer in the neighborhood of Cayuga. Fishing is as abundant here as at Onondaga, as well for salmon as for eels and other fishes. Four leagues from here I saw, on the brink of a River, within quite a small space, eight or ten very fine salt springs. It is there that they spread numbers of nets to catch pigeons, of which they often take seven or eight hundred at one haul. The Lake of Tiohero [Cayuga], one of the two which border on our village, is fourteen leagues long, by one or two wide. Swans and bustards abound there all the winter; and, in the spring, one sees nothing but continual clouds of all sorts of game. The River of Ochouéguen [Oswego], which flows out of this Lake, divides itself at its beginning into several channels surrounded by prairies, with here and there very pleasant and pretty deep bays, where the wild fowl resort. I find the inhabitants of Cayuga more tractable and less fierce than the Onondagas and Oneidas; and, if God had humiliated them as much as the Mohawks, I believe that the faith would be established there more easily than in any one of the Iroquois nations. They reckon more than three hundred warriors among them, and a prodigious multitude of small children.”*

29 July.
Garnier's
account of
Seneca.

31 July.

From Seneca, Garnier sent his superior a discouraging account of the three missions of Conception, Saint Michael, and Saint James. The expedition of Courcelles to Lake Ontario, which at first had been thought to be an intended invasion, retarded conversions; and an ill feeling arose against the “black robes,” who were charged with being scrocerers and spies to report every thing to Onnontio. With great joy, Garnier welcomed Raffeix to assist him among the Senecas, who now numbered from twelve to thirteen thousand souls.†

The war against the Andastes was still carried on, chiefly by the Cayugas and the Senecas. During the summer,

* Relation, 1672, 22, 23; Col. Doc., iii., 251. The salt springs which Raffeix describes are those at Montezuma.

† Relation, 1672, 13, 24-26; 1673-2, 103; Col. Doc., ix., 97, *note*; Shea, 292; *aut.*, 179. The Annual Relations of the Jesuits were not printed later than this year at Paris, owing to the request of Courcelles: Faillon, iii., 312. Dablon, however, who remained superior general, at Quebec, until 1682, compiled several others. Two of these, for 1672-1673, and 1673-1679, have been published from the originals at Quebec, by Mr. John G. Shea. Mr. James Lenox has likewise printed the Relation for 1676-1677. Charles Donniel, of Paris, also published two volumes in 1861, entitled “Mission du Canada,” containing the Relations from 1672 to 1679, copied from the originals at Quebec and at Rome.



an Iroquois party descending the Susquehanna River were attacked and routed by sixty young Susquehannas. The sympathies of the French missionaries were with the latter. "God preserve the Andastes, who have only three hundred warriors, and bless their arms to humiliate the Iroquois and preserve to us peace and our missions," wrote Raffeix to Dablon, his superior general, at Quebec.*

Courcelles's expedition the last year to Lake Ontario so affected his health that he asked to be relieved; and the king appointed in his place Louis de Buade, Count of Frontenac, a veteran lieutenant general in the French army. Frontenac was quick, firm, penetrating, domineering, and a scholar. He was instructed, among other things, to keep his government prepared to repel, and, if necessary, to attack the Iroquois; to favor "contiguous clearances" rather than scattered settlements; and to counterbalance the influence of the Jesuits by encouraging the Sulpitians and Recollets.†

The summer before Frontenac reached Canada, a congress was held at Montreal, to which more than five hundred red men came in one hundred and fifty canoes. A new treaty of peace was confirmed in the presence of Courcelles. At the same time, the governor invited the principal Iroquois chiefs to meet him at Cataracouy, on the northern shore of Lake Ontario. Having assembled there, Courcelles flattered them by presents, and got their consent to build a fort at that place, where they might come to trade with the French. They did not perceive that the object of the Canadian governor was really "to hold them in check," after they should have ended their war with the Susquehannas, and provide an entrepôt for himself. The work was at once projected by Courcelles; but its completion was left to other hands.‡

On his return to Quebec, Courcelles met Frontenac, who had just arrived, and easily convinced him of the importance of the enterprise he had begun on Lake Ontario.

* Relation, 1672, 20, 24. It has been supposed by Charlevoix, ii., 244, that the Susquehannas, or Andastes, were subjugated by the Iroquois in 1672. But this event does not seem to have happened until 1675: see Douniol, i., 297; ii., 44, 99; Hist. Mag., ii., 297; *Can. Dec.*, ix., 110, 111, 227; *ante*, 160, *note*.

† *Can. Dec.*, ix., 85-88, 791; Charlevoix, ii., 191, 247; Garneau, i., 201, 205, 207; Sparks's *Lamartine*, ii., 16; Faillon, iii., 416-418; *ante*, 181.

‡ Relation, 1672, 24; Charlevoix, ii., 244, 245; Shea, 282; Garneau, i., 206.



CHAP. IV. Frontenac's first act was to publish his king's declaration of war against the Dutch. In his dispatches to France, he approved of Courcelles's projected fort at Cataracouy "to prevent the Iroquois carrying to the Dutch the peltries, for which they go to the Ottawas;" and as it might strengthen the mission at Quinté Bay, he promised to go there himself the next spring.*

1672.
17 Septem.
Frontenac
governor
of Canada.
2 Novem.

Jolliet sent
to explore
the Missis-
sippi with
Marquette.

8 Decem.

Courcelles soon afterward returned to France, accompanied by Talon, in a new ship of five hundred tons burthen, which had been built at Quebec. As the Mississippi was supposed to empty into the Gulf of California, Talon recommended to Frontenac that its exploration should be intrusted to Louis Jolliet, of Quebec, an "aspirant to the Ministry," who had accompanied Saint Lussou the year before to Lake Superior, and who had "already been almost at that great river, the mouth of which he promises to see." Jolliet was accordingly dispatched to Michilimackinac, with orders to Marquette to join the expedition. On the feast of the Immaculate Conception he reached the Jesuit missionary, who longed to visit the Mississippi; and the winter was spent in preparations for their journey.†

13 July.
Schenectady
affairs.

6 Septem.

While Lovelace was at Albany the last year, he regulated the Indian trade at Schenectady as the frontier. The people of that town now bought from the Mohawks the land on both sides of the river, as far as "Kinaquarioncs," where the last battle was fought between the Mohawks and Mahicans in 1669. A separate court was soon afterward established at Schenectady.‡

Prosperity
of Esopus.

16 October.
Fox Hall.

Under the new arrangements at Esopus, its three villages prospered abundantly, and twenty-five thousand "schepels" of corn were raised there this year. Not far from the village of Kingston, the land owned by Captain Chambers was erected into a manor, with the usual privileges, and

* Col. Doc., ix., 90-94, 791; Quebec MSS., ii. (ii.), 116; Charlevoix, ii., 245; Garneau, i., 267-210; Faillon, iii., 456, 457; *ante*, 148, 149.

† Relation, 1672, i., 2, 36; 1672-3, 146; Col. Doc., ix., 89, 92, 121, 668, 793, 804; Charlevoix, ii., 245, 246, 248, 254, 255; Bancroft, iii., 153, 158, 156; Garneau, i., 205-207, 221, 232; La Potherie, ii., 130; Shea's Disc. Miss., xxvii., xxviii., lxx., lxxix., 4, 5, 6; Hist. Mag., v., 237; Douville, i., 193, 194; Faillon, iii., 260, 312 417-421; *ante*, 170, 179.

‡ Gen. Ent., iv., 90; Council Min., iii., 116; Col. MSS., xxii., 132; *ante*, 161. On the 27th of January, 1673, Anthonia van Curler, in consideration of her house and barns being destroyed, and of her husband, Arendt van Curler, being lost in the public service (*ante*, 121), was allowed to sell rum and lead, but not powder, to the Indians, for a year and two months; Council Min., iii., 120; Col. Doc., ii., 652.



named "Fox Hall." Soon afterward Counselor Delavall CHAP. III. was authorized to build a store-house adjoining the redoubt 1672. at the Strand, near Kingston.*

The provincial law, in cases of divorce, was now settled. 19 March. Daniel Denton, of Jamaica, who had gone to London to The law of divorce in New York. publish his work on New York, found, on his return, that his wife, Abigail, had been unfaithful during his absence. He applied to the Court of Sessions for a divorce; but that tribunal having no jurisdiction, he laid his case before the governor and council. Lovelace, observing that it was "conformable to the Laws of this Government, as well as to the practice of the civil law, and the laws of our nation of England," granted Denton a divorce from his wife. 23 June. But in this decision the governor seems to have followed the Dutch rather than the English law.†

At the autumn session of the Court of Assizes an inter- 2 October. esting case was heard on appeal from the court on the Interesting appeal in the Court of Assizes. Delaware. Amigart Pappegoya, the daughter of the former Swedish Governor Printz, brought an action in ejectment against Andrew Carr, to recover her patrimonial estate in the island of Tinicum. The plaintiff's attorney was John Sharpe, assisted by Samuel Edsall, and Jacob Milborne, who was specially admitted to plead. John Ri- 3 October. der appeared for the defendant. The writings in German were translated for the court by the Lutheran "Domine" Arensius, and those in Low Dutch by Nicholas Bayard. After a full hearing the case went to the jury, who brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, and judgment was given in 4 October. her favor.‡

* Col. Doc., ii., 526; Lambrechtsen, 115; Gen. Ent., iv., 216, 273; O'Call., ii., 294, 395; Val. Man., 1:53, 331.

† Gen. Ent., iv., 153; Dunlap, ii., App. cxviii.; Daly's Introd., 27. The Court of Assizes, however, in the following October, allowed the divorced Abigail Denton to marry again: Court of Assizes, ii., 317. In October, 1670, the Court of Assizes divorced Rebecca Leverage from her husband, Eleazer, on account of his alleged impotence: Council Min., ii., 27; Court of Assizes, ii., 436, 519-522, 607, 608; Thompson, i., 256. The governor and council, in October, 1672, divorced Thomas Pettit, of Newtown, from his wife Sarah, because of her adultery; and Mary Cole from Daniel Sutton, because of his bigamy: Gen. Ent., iv., 216, 214, 215. The law, however, was afterward settled otherwise. Chancellor Kent observes that "for more than one hundred years preceding the Revolution, no divorce took place in the colony of New York;" and that there was no way of dissolving a marriage in the lifetime of the parties but by a special act of the Legislature. The Court of Chancery was not authorized to grant divorces *à vinculo* until 1787, and then only for adultery: Kent's Commentaries, ii., 97, 98.

‡ Court of Assizes, ii., 293-309; Gen. Ent., iv., 260-262; Col. MSS., xx., 26; S. Harward's Ann. Penn., 490, 491, 494; ante, vol. i., 397, 557. Sharpe and Rider appear to have been regular practitioners: Col. Doc., ii., 617, 702, 713; iii., 202; Doc. Hist., iii., 58, 69; Mass.



CHAP. IV.

1672.
2 October
to
7 October.
New laws
enacted at
the Court
of Assizes.

Several important public measures were adopted at the same session of the Court of Assizes. As servants frequently ran away from their masters into other governments, it was ordered that all strangers without passports should be liable to arrest. English weights and measures only were to be used throughout the province before the next Old Style New-year day, on the 25th of March. The laws as to parochial churches were to be duly observed, and "although divers persons may be of different judgments, yet all shall contribute to the minister established and allowed of, which is no way judged to be an infringement of the liberty of conscience to the which they may pretend." The contributions for the renovation of the fort were to be sent to New York, or to "the Ferry," before the next Christmas. It was also ordered that a Boston shilling should pass for one shilling, and a good Spanish piece of eight, whether of Mexico, Seville, or a pillar piece, should be valued at six shillings in all New York transactions.*

10 Decem.
Monthly
post to New
England
established
by Love-
lace.

Lovelace now issued a proclamation that, conformably to the king's commands to promote correspondence, and the advancement of commerce and general intelligence between his colonies, a monthly post should be established to go from New York to Boston; and that, accordingly, a sworn messenger would be dispatched on the first of the next January, to convey letters or small packets to Hartford, Boston, and other places on his way. All letters were to be deposited in the secretary's office, and the postage to be prepaid before the bag was closed. In a private letter which Lovelace intended to dispatch by his pioneer post, he wrote to Winthrop: "I here present you with two rarities, a pacquett of the latest intelligence I could meet withal, and a Post. By the first, you will see what has

27 Decem.

II. S. Coll., xxx., 108. Ed-sall afterward became quite prominent in colonial affairs: Col. Doc., ii., 576, 720; iii., 75, 589, 683, 789. Jacob Millborne, who became still more prominent, was a young Englishman, who had been convicted of clipping the king's coin, and sold as a servant in Barbados. He was afterward bought by a Hartford man; but because of his stubbornness and disobedience, was transferred several times from one master to another. Having finally got his liberty, he came to New York in 1668, being then twenty years old, and was employed by Counselor Thomas Delavall to keep his books and manage his affairs; in which service he remained until this year: Col. Doc., iii., 391, 621, 674, 727, 755, 789; Doc. Hist., ii., 28, 42; Col. MSS., xxvi., 139; Gen. Ent., xxxii., 19.

* Court of Assizes, ii., 523; Col. MSS., xxii., 9, 142; N. Y. II. S. Coll., i., 429-424; Thompson, i., 159. Frequent cases of the prohibition of the export of grain, either by order of the governor and council, or of the Court of Assizes, occurred from time to time in New York.



been acted on the stage of Europe; by the latter you will meet with a monthly fresh supply; so that if it receive but the same ardent inclinations from you as first it hath from myself, by our monthly advisees all publique occurrences may be transmitted between us, together with severall other great conveniencys of publique importance, consonant to the commands laid upon us by His sacred Majestie, who strictly enjoins all his American subjects to enter into a close correspondency with each other. This I look upon as the most compendious means to beget a mutual understanding; and that it may receive all the countenance from you for its future duration, I shall acquaint you with the modell I have proposed; and if you please but to make an addition to it, or subtraction, or any other alteration, I shall be ready to comply with you. This person that has undertaken the employment I conceived most proper, being both active, stout, and indefatigable. He is sworne as to his fidelity. I have affixt an annuall sallery on him, which, together with the advantage of his letters and other small portable packes, may afford him a handsome livelyhood. Hartford is the first stage I have designed him to change his horse, where constantly I expect he should have a fresh one lye, *leger*. All the letters outward shall be delivered gratis, with a signification of *Post Payd* on the superscription; and reciprocally, we expect all to us free. Each first Monday of the month he sets out from New York, and is to return within the month from Boston to us againe. The maile has divers baggs, according to the townes the letters are designed to; which are all sealed up 'till their arrivement, with the seale of the Secretarie's Office, whose care it is on Saturday night to seale them up. Only by-letters are in an open bag, to dispense by the wayes. Thus you see the scheme I have drawne to promote a happy correspondence. I shall only beg of you your furtherance to so universall a good work; that is to afford him directions where, and to whom to make his application to upon his arrival at Boston; as likewise to afford him what letters you can to establish him in that employment there. It would be much advantagious to our designe, if in the intervall you discoursed with some of the most able woodmen, to make out the best and most facile

CHAP. IV.

1672.

Lovell's
postal regulations.



CHAP. IV. way for a Post, which, in processe of tyme would be the
 1672. King's best highway; as likewise passages and accommo-
 dation at Rivers, fords, or other necessary places."*

Lovelace is certainly entitled to the credit of having established the first post between New York and New England. But the pioneer whom he intended to dispatch on New-year's day was kept back until the Albany news reached the capital. He was then sworn, and instructed to behave civilly; to inquire of Winthrop "how to form the best post-road;" to mark trees "that shall direct passengers the best way;" and "to detect, and cause to be apprehended all fugitive soldiers and servants" who might run away from New York. By him the governor wrote again to Winthrop that the last ships from England to Maryland and Virginia brought "little tidings save the despair of a peace between the Protestant nations. Presses, both by sea and land, are very vigorously prosecuted. The Hollander has absolutely lost three of their Provinces. They have disposed of all their men-of-war, and given liberty to all that will venture on privateering; in so much that forty saile, well fitted, are dispatched towards the West Indies. If so, it will be high time for us to beginne to buckle on our armour, and to put ourselves into such a posture of defence as is most suitable to our severall conditions. However, it will be absolutely necessary that in the first place, a good understanding be made and preserved amongst us, conformable to His Majestie's gracious care and good pleasure; to which end I have erected a constant post, which shall monthly pass betwixt us, or oftener, if occasion requires. I desire of you to favour the undertaking by your best skill and countenance. I have writt to you my more particular desires in a former letter which this bearer brings likewise."†

Murder
 case at Al-
 bany.
 27 Jan.

The delayed messenger from Albany brought news of the murder of a soldier there by two "North Indians," who were promptly arrested by Pynchon, at Springfield. Lovelace at once commissioned Salisbury to try them at a spe-

* Gen. Ent., iv., 243, 244; Barber and Howe's N. Y. Coll., 290; Val. Man., 1857, 542; Bolton, i., 139; ii., 321, 322; Mass. H. S., Trumbull Papers, MSS. xx., 119; ante, 182.

† Gen. Ent., iv., 252, 253; Val. Man., 1857, 543, 544; Mass. H. S., Trumbull Papers, MSS. xx., 169; Hist. Mass., iv., 59. Massachusetts does not appear to have taken any steps respecting a post until 1677: see Mass. Rec., v., 147, 148; Palfrey, iii., 306, 543.



cial court at Albany. The murderers were convicted and executed; and the savages retained a lasting memory of the sure and swift justice of the English.*

CHAP. IV.

1673.

Lovelace had given no attention to the duke's territory at Pemaquid. Massachusetts, however, had claimed jurisdiction over that region; and after the Peace of Breda, the French insisted that Acadia extended as far west as the Kennebec River. Saint Lussou had visited Pemaquid after his return from the West, and found the colonists there apparently glad to come under French authority. Lovelace therefore wrote to them to send to New York "a 16 Febr'y. Lovelace's orders about Pemaquid. modell of such a government as shall be most conducing to the happiness of that colony, both to its safety, traffic, and increase of inhabitants; promising, upon the reception of that scheme, not only to invest you with ample power to exercise your authority both to ecclesiastick as civill affairs, but will be ready on all occasions to be assisting to you in the preservation of all your rights and interest against any sinister obstructions."†

At Martha's Vineyard affairs went quietly on under the government of Mayhew, and a code of laws was passed at a General Court held at Edgartown. Nantucket, however, "would not proceed" in the same way; and Lovelace appointed Richard Gardner its chief magistrate, in place of Coffin, with instructions. One of these was that the island should thereafter be known as the town of Sherborne.‡

Meanwhile, Philip Carteret had succeeded in England. At the request of the proprietors of New Jersey, the Duke of York wrote to Lovelace that the grants of Nicolls to Baker and others being made after his own conveyance to Jersey.

1672.

25 Novemb.
The duke's
orders to
Lovelace
about New
Jersey.

* Gen. Ent., iv., 248-251; Col. Doc., iv., 904; Hist. Mag., iv., 50, 51. On the 28th of January, 1673, "Jo. Clarke," who appears to have belonged to the garrison of Fort James, wrote by the same post to Salisbury, among other things, the following city news: "The other day we had like to have lost our hangman, Ben. Johnson; for he, being taken in divers thefts and robberies, convicted and found guilty, 'scaped his neck through want of another hangman to truss him up; so that all the punishment he received for his 3 yeeres' reguery in thieving and stealing (which was never found out 'till now) was only thirty-nine stripes at the whipping-post, loss of an ear, and banishment. Capt. Manning had likewise two servants that he employed at his Island, taken with him in their villainy; but they being not found so guilty as he, came off with whipping and banishment. All this happened about a fortnight since, but 'tis two months since they were apprehended."

† Gen. Ent., iv., 258, 259; Maine H. S. Coll., i., 130, 131; v., 6-8, 247, 248; Col. Doc., ix., 74, 75, 119, 265, 379, 433; Mass. Rec., iv. (ii.), 519; Charlevoix, ii., 256; La Potherie, ii., 120; Wallis, i., 440-442; Hutch. Mass., i., 325; ante, 111, 172.

‡ Iseda, i., 78; iii., 57, 58-59; Col. MSS., xxiv., 92; Hough's Nantucket Papers, 42-50, 51; ante, 174.



CHAP. IV. Berkeley and Carteret, were void; and as the latter had promised to instruct their agents to assist the governor of New York, "I do desire you," he added, "and all others herein concerned, in like manner effectually to assist them in furthering the settlement and maintaining the quiet of these parts." The king also directed Berry, the acting governor, to notify all the inhabitants of New Jersey to yield obedience to the proprietors, who had "the sole power" under him.*

1673. When these documents were published by Berry, the insurgents submitted. James Carteret retired with his young bride to New York, whence he soon afterward sailed for Virginia. Lovelace read in council the duke's orders about New Jersey, and supported the proprietors' authority there. Willis and Winthrop also wrote to Berry and Sir George Carteret in favor of emigrants from Connecticut to New Jersey, and recommended convenient townships as "best conducing to safety and the advancing of civil societies."†

While Lovelace was at Anne Hook's Neck, or Hutchinson's Bay, on postal business, news came to New York that a Dutch squadron was coming from the West Indies to Virginia, and thence northward; and the governor was summoned back to the capital by express from Manning. Seeing no enemy, Lovelace "slited" his subordinate's care, and said "this is one of Manning's 'larrums.'" He did not even prepare the fort to withstand an enemy, although he had received the contribution money. Soldiers were, however, summoned from Albany, Esopus, and Delaware, and nearly one hundred and thirty enlisted men were mustered. At the general training the volunteer and regular force amounted to three hundred and thirty. But soon afterward, Salisbury, with his men, were sent back to Albany, and the whole number left in garrison at Fort James did not exceed eighty.‡

The exportation of wheat, however, was prohibited, owing to "these times of trouble." On account of the scarcity of wampum, it was directed that six white and three

* Col. MSS., xxii., 144; Eliz. Bill, 35, 36, 37; Leaming and Spicer, 31-41; Whitehead, 55, 56; Hatfield, 143-154; *ante*, 49, 84, 189.

† Conn. MSS., i. (63), 147; Gen. Ent., iv., 277; Eliz. Bill, 37, App. 31; Whitehead, 53, 59; Col. Dec. in i., 209, 214; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 84, 85; *ante*, 190, *note*.

‡ Dec. Hist., iii., 54, 57, 59; Bolton, i., 518; *ante*, vol. i., 334, 396, 595.



black beads should pass for a stuyver or penny, instead of eight white and four black, as formerly. The Duke's Laws were also ordered to be enforced in Esopus.*

CHAP. IV.

1673.

12 June.

15 May.

Lovelace for some time intended to visit Winthrop, who had recently lost his wife; and now, "having urgent occasions," he set out for Connecticut, leaving Manning, as usual, in charge of Fort James; but "without any order to repair the same for to make defence against an enemy." Before the governor saw that fortress again, events occurred which he does not appear to have apprehended.†

20 July.
Lovelace
visits Win-
throp in
Connecti-
cut.

The "Cabal" of Charles the Second had, meanwhile, been the only gainers by his war with the Dutch. Parliament was asked by the king for assistance. Shaftesbury, his chancellor, bitterly denounced the Dutch, whose commerce he described, in glowing rhetoric, as leading them to "an universal Empire, as great as Rome." Following the key-note which Dryden had sounded ten years before, he compared Holland to Carthage, which England, like Rome, must destroy — "*Delenda est Carthago.*" Both Charles and Shaftesbury spoke to little purpose. Parliament suspected the orthodoxy of the Duke of York, and disliked the king's meretricious alliance with Roman Catholic France no less than his unjustifiable war with Protestant Holland. A supply was voted, but it was coupled with a condition to which Charles was obliged to give his reluctant assent. This was the "Test Act," which continued to be an English law until the reign of George the Fourth. It required all persons holding any civil or military offices in England, Wales, Berwick, Jersey, or Guernsey, to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; publicly receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the usage of the Church of England; and subscribe a declaration against the Romish doctrine of Transubstantiation. In consequence of this law, the Duke of York, who for some time had secretly been a Roman Catholic, candidly declared his religious faith, and in a flood of tears resigned all the offices which he held under the crown, including that of lord high admiral of England. But as the Test

4 Febr'y.
Charles
and
Shaftes-
bury on the
Dutch.

29 March.
The En-
glish "Test
Act" pass-
ed.

Effect of
the Test
Act on the
Duke of
York.

* Council Min., III., 129, 145, 146, 153-157; S. Hazard, 405; Proud, I., 133, 134.

† Council Min., III., 147; Trumbull Papers, xx., 104, 109; Mass. H. S. MSS.; Col. Doc., 3, 148; Proc. Hist., III., 57, 59; Col. Rec. Conn., I., 242; Eitz. B.H., 6.



CHAP. IV. Act did not extend to Scotland and Ireland, nor to the
 1673. British Plantations, the duke's admiralty jurisdiction over
 them remained unimpaired.*

Parliament again turned its attention to the American colonies. Their commerce had already been restrained by the Navigation Laws; but "the avarice of English shopkeepers" now required that commerce to be taxed. It was observed that the British Plantations enjoyed a profitable intercolonial traffic, and sold their commodities to foreign nations, "to the diminution of the customs and the navigation of the kingdom." Parliament therefore enacted that sugars, tobacco, ginger, and certain other productions, when exported from any English colony, should pay the same duties to the crown as if they were landed in England; and that these duties were to be collected at such places and by such officers as the commissioners of the customs in England should appoint. This selfish measure "formed the seed-plot on which was raised the subsequent system of colonial revenue."†

29 March.
 Colonial
 policy of
 Great Britain.
 1673.

1672. During the first year of the war the United Provinces
 suffered terrible calamities. Although the Dutch had, a
 century before, proved themselves the first soldiers in the
 world, they had, through a long interval of peace and prosperity, become unused to military service on land. Their whole energies had been directed to commercial and naval enterprise. Holland seemed almost like a rich galleon, with De Ruyter for captain, and De Witt for pilot. One of the Pensionary's maxims had always been to foster the sea rather than the land forces of the republic. The young Prince of Orange, on the other hand, chafed at his thralldom, and longed to be at the head of armies. It is

The Dutch
 Republic
 against
 Great
 Britain.

15. Will.
 De Ruyter,
 and Wil-
 liam of Or-
 ange.

* Statute 25 Ch. II., cap. ii.; Parl. Hist., iv., 495, 502-535; Kennett, iii., 289-294; Clarke's James II., i., 483; Burnet, i., 346-352; Rapin, ii., 665-671; Basnage, ii., 395-399; King's Letters, 34; Evelyn, ii., 88, 89; Anderson, ii., 527; Hume, vi., 468-472; Lingard, xii., 289-298, 303; Campbell's Chancellors, iii., 314-317; Col. Doc., iii., 259; Leaming and Spicer, 46; ante, 3. The Test Act did not extend to the English Plantations of its own force, because they were not particularly named, or intended to be embraced in the statute: Col. Doc., iii., 557; Chalmers's Ann., i., 240; Rev. Col., i., 173, 236; Blackstone, i., 108, 199; Jacob, iv., 491; v., 15, 160. It was first extended to the American Plantations by William III., in 1689, of his own will, by clauses in the Royal Commissions and Instructions to the several Governors: Col. Doc., iii., 623, 685; *post*, p. 264.

† 25 Charles II., cap. vii.; Anderson, ii., 521, 522; Chalmers's Ann., i., 317, 320; Rev. Col., i., 125, 126, 152, 172; Kennett, iii., 295; Holmes, i., 360; Bancroft, ii., 44; Grahaue, i., 92; Palfrey, iii., 33, 34, 279. Chalmers, and those who follow him, using the Old Style, erroneously date this act in 1672. The 25th year of Charles the Second was from 30 January, 1673, to 29 January, 1674.



not surprising that while the Dutch fleets gloriously maintained the honor of their flag against England, their militia, officered by incapable favorites, recoiled before the disciplined veterans of France, led by Condé, and Luxembourg, and Turenne. Before Holland knew it, the Gallic Hannibal was at her gates. Louis established his court at Utrecht. Almost in despair, De Witt opened negotiations with France and England. But the humiliating terms they offered could not be accepted; and spasmodic popular indignation broke out against the Pensionary and his brother. *Oranje Boven, De Witten onder!* "Up with Orange—down with the De Witts"—was the cry.*

CHAP. IV.

1672.

July.
Louis at
Utrecht.

"Oranje
Boven."

William,
Prince of
Orange.

Made cap-
tain gener-
al and
stadtholder.

William Henry, Prince of Orange, was now in the twenty-second year of his age. "A young man without youth," he concealed under a cold exterior a dauntless soul. But he had been deprived of the stadtholderate enjoyed by his ancestors, and its duties were performed by the Grand Pensionary of Holland, John de Witt, who administered the government with great success until the war with France. The people then began to murmur that their soldiers did not fight well because they were badly officered, and demanded that the Prince of Orange should be made captain general. This was done; and, at the popular cry of "Oranje Boven," William was appointed stadtholder. An army to protect the hearth was now more important than a navy to keep open the port. John de Witt resigned his office of Pensionary, and his brother

* Sylvius, i. 243; *Hollandische Mercurius*, 1672, 89-91; *Basnage*, ii. 183, 194, 211-220, 283, 284; *Le Clerc*, iii. 290; *Wagenaar*, xiv. 26-165; *Davies*, iii. 91-108; *Hume*, vi. 434; *Levallée*, iii. 220; *Martin*, i. 345-352; *ante*, p. 1-5. On the 29th of June, 1672, the partisans of the prince welcomed him at Dordrecht, in Holland, with the old national cry—"Wilhelmus van Nassauwen" (*ante*, vol. i. p. 442), and by hoisting an Orange flag above a white flag, the upper one bearing the inscription in Dutch:

"*Oranje boven, de Witten onder;*

Die't anders meend, die slaat den Donder."

Which may be rendered in English:

"Orange above, the Whites under;

Who thinks not so, be struck by thunder."

The Dutch word *Wit* signifies "White." *De Witten*, or the De Witts, therefore means "the Whites;" and thus the Dordrecht flag, with their inscription, formed a popular double pun. Although the words "*Oranje Boven*" were thus adopted as a popular cry by the partisans of William the Third in 1672, they were known and used long before by the Dutch people, who applied them to their national flag, of which the upper stripe was orange, the middle one white, and the lower one blue (*ante*, vol. i. 19, *note*). These words were also shouted on the 15th of January, 1651, when the young prince was baptized at the Great Church in the Hague; *ante*, p. 2; *Aicema*, iii. 551, 552; *Basnage*, i. 181; *Le Clerc*, ii. 294; *J. G. de Jonge*, *Oorsprong* (1831), 52; *Ray's Histoire du Drapeau* (1837), ii. 518, 519; *J. G. de Jonge*, *Oorsprong* (1833), 44, 45; *De Navorscher* for 1854, iv. 62, 63; and for 1861, viii. 271.

CHAP. IV. Cornelis was imprisoned. The Orangeists attributed the disasters of their country to the party which had lately governed it; and a band of ruffians, bursting into the prison where John de Witt was visiting his brother, butchered them both on the "Plaats" before the Buitenhof at the Hague.*

1672.
The De
Witts mur-
dered.
20 August.

William's
magnanim-
ity.

In almost uncontrolled authority, William now showed the grandeur of his soul. To the desponding States he spoke encouragement. To the proposals of Louis and Charles he answered that, "rather than sign the ruin of the Republic and receive the sovereignty from the hand of its enemies, he would embark with his friends for Batavia." To the suggestion that Holland was lost if he did not accept the terms of France and England, he replied, "There is a sure way never to see it lost, and that is, I will die in the last ditch!"†

The Dutch
encour-
aged.

The spirit of William roused his drooping countrymen. The Dutch remembered what their ancestors had done a century before. The sluices were opened, and the low lands became a vast lake, studded with cities and villages, rising here and there above the waters which washed their ramparts. Again the invaders were forced to retreat, and Holland was saved.‡

1673.

28 May.
Naval
actions.

The Dutch navy was now commanded by De Ruyter and Tromp, who had been reconciled by the Prince of Orange. Prince Rupert took the place of the Duke of York in command of the English fleet, which, being joined by the French, attacked the weaker Dutch off the coast of Zealand. Tromp's division was almost overpowered by the French, when De Ruyter, who was conquering the English, magnanimously checked his own career and hastened to rescue his former rival. The battle was indecisive. Another engagement followed the next week, and the English retreated to the Thames. Two months afterward, one hundred and fifty English and French ships were encountered by seventy-five Dutch off the Helder. A terrible

4 June.

* Basnage, ii., 284-322; Temple, ii., 257, 258; Wagenaar, xiv., 166-193; Davies, iii., 43, 107-113; Martin, i., 352-357; Sylvius, i., 346-409; D'Estrades, iv., 223, 242; Macaulay, ii., 180; *ante*, 2.

† Burnet, i., 327, 331, 332; Kennett, iii., 292; Dalrymple, i., 53; Rapin, ii., 664; Basnage, ii., 256; Temple, ii., 259; Hume, vi., 455-467; Davies, iii., 121-123; Mackintosh, 320; Macaulay, i., 218, 219; ii., 182.

‡ Burnet, i., 335-337; Temple, ii., 250, 261; Davies, iii., 123; *ante*, vol. i., 442, 443.



conflict followed, in which, as a last exhibition of courage, CHAP. III.
Hollanders and Englishmen rivaled each other in stubborn
valor. From morning until night the churches were filled
with praying Dutch Protestants, while the sound of rapid
guns boomed over the low coast of Holland. At length
the English retreated, and De Ruyter and Tromp shared
with William of Orange the gratitude of their rescued
fatherland.*

1673.
11 August.
Last battle
between
the Dutch
and En-
glish.

While the countrymen of Grotius were thus fighting for
their hearths, a former province of the Netherlands was un-
expectedly annexed to the Dutch Republic. Cornelis Evert-
sen, a son of the famous admiral, had been sent out from
Zealand with fifteen ships to harass the enemy in the West
Indies, which was effectually done. At Martinico he fell
in with four ships dispatched from Amsterdam, under the
command of Jacob Binckes. Joining their forces, the two
commodores followed Krynssen's track to the Chesapeake,
where they took eight, and burned five Virginia tobacco
ships, in spite of the gallantry of the frigates which were
to convoy them to England. As they were going out of
the James River, the Dutch commodores met a sloop from
New York, conveying Captain James Carteret, with his
bride, and Samuel Hopkins, of Elizabethtown, to Virginia.
The master of the sloop, Samuel Davis, on being question-
ed, stoutly insisted that New York was in a good condition
of defense, with one hundred and fifty mounted guns, and
five thousand men ready to answer the call of Governor
Lovelace in three hours. But Hopkins bluntly told the
truth. Davis's story was "altogether false;" there were
only sixty or eighty men in the fort, and thirty to thirty-six
cannon on its walls; three or four hundred men might be
raised in three or four days, and Lovelace was absent on a
visit to Governor Winthrop in Connecticut. Upon Hop-
kins's information, "all the cry was for New York." Car-
teret and his young wife were set ashore in Virginia; but
Hopkins, with Davis and his sloop, were detained. In a
few days the Dutch fleet, which, with three ships of war
from Amsterdam, and four from Zealand, was now swelled
by prizes to twenty-three vessels, carrying sixteen hundred

1672.
15 Decem.
Expedition
of Evert-
sen and
Binckes.

1673.

11 July.

At Virgia-
nia.

Reached
fall of
New York

1673.
11 August.
The Dutch
at Staten
Island

* Haenage, ii., 410-422; Sylvius, viii., 697-612; ix., 647-649; Davies, iii., 127-132; New-
comb, iii., 295, 296; Rapin, ii., 671; Hume, vi., 473-476; Bancroft, ii., 324; Martin, i., 273, 276.



CHAP. III. men, arrived off Sandy Hook. The next morning they anchored under Staten Island.*

1673.

28 July.

7 August.
Manning's
action.

The Dutch
welcome
their
country-
men.

29 July.

8 August.

The tidings of their approach were soon brought to Manning, at Fort James, who, finding that the wolf was this time really at the door, hurried off an express to meet Lovelace at New Haven. Volunteers were sought by beat of drum, provisions were seized, and the arms in the fort repaired. Orders were sent to the nearest Long Island towns to forward re-enforcements, but none came. The Dutch inhabitants, rejoicing at the approach of their countrymen, had already begun to make "threatening speeches." The fleet was soon crowded with sympathizing visitors from New Utrecht and Flatbush. Learning from them how weak Fort James really was, the Dutch commanders came up the bay, and anchored above the Narrows, in sight of the city. Lovelace's sheep and cattle on Staten Island afforded them an acceptable "breakfast." Already New York was substantially restored to the Dutch. In vain did Manning continue beating the drums for volunteers. Few appeared, and those that did only spiked the guns at the City Hall.†

30 July.

9 August.
Answer of
the Dutch
commodores to
Manning's
demand.

The situation of the capital now resembled that of New Amsterdam nine years before. All that Manning could think of was to procrastinate, in hope that the governor might return, or aid come from Long Island. Captain John Carr, of the Delaware, who was now in New York, was accordingly dispatched, with Counselor Thomas Lovelace and Attorney John Sharpe, to demand why the fleet had come "in such a hostile manner to disturb His Majesty's subjects in this place?" The Dutch commodores replied that they had come to take the place, "which was their own, and their own they would have." Meanwhile Evertsen and Binckes had sent a trumpeter with their joint summons from the flag-ship "Swanenburgh," requiring the surrender of the fort. To this Manning promised a reply on the return of his own messengers. When they did re-

* Basnage, II., 450, 751, 782, 822, 834; Sylvius, ix., 660, 665; x., 23; xiv., 355; xv., 38, 94; Kok, vi., 52; xiv., 564; Davies, iii., 50, 152; Col. Doc., II., 518, 527, 572, 579; III., 1, 9, 200, 201, 204, 205, 213, 214; Hist. Mag., I. (ii.), 297, 298; Hutch. Mass., I., 284; Mass. H. S., Trumbull Papers, xx., 193; Lambrechtsen, 82; Grahame, I., 429; *ante*, 126, 200. There is a portrait of Evertsen in Wagenaar, x., 394. See also N. Y. H. S. Coll. (1868), 184.

† Doc. Hist., III., 57, 59, 60, 65; Col. Doc., III., 195, 199; iv., 1151; Hist. Mag., I. (ii.), 298; *ante*, 200.



turn, Carr declared that the Dutch were too strong to be withstood, and that they would only allow half an hour's delay. The fleet had meanwhile quietly tided up and anchored within musket-shot of the fort, without a gun being fired. Sharpe was sent on board a second time, to ask a stay of hostilities until the next morning, so that Manning might obtain the advice of the mayor and aldermen. But the Dutch commander, Evertsen, had already written to the city authorities, "promising to all men their estates and liberties," and this had been communicated to the burghers at the City Hall. On Sharpe's return, he reported that the commodores would give only a half an hour more, "and accordingly they turned up the glass." At the end of that time the ships fired their broadsides at the fort, which killed and wounded some of its garrison; "whereupon the fort fired upon them again, and shot the General's ship through and through." Six hundred men were now landed above "the Governor's Orchard," at "the new burial-place" on the shore of the Hudson, just north of the fort, and back of the present Trinity Church. The Dutch burghers, all armed, and about four hundred strong, encouraged their countrymen to storm the fort, promising that not one of its garrison would "look over their works." At Carr's instigation, Manning ordered a parley to be beaten, and a flag of truce exhibited; but Carr, exceeding his orders, struck the king's flag at the same time. Carr, Lovelace, and Gibbs were now dispatched to "make the best conditions they could." They met the Dutch "forlorn" storming-party advancing. Carr was sent back to inform Manning that the garrison must surrender as prisoners of war, while Lovelace and Gibbs were kept in custody under the Dutch standard. But Carr, never coming near the fort, fled away from the city. Manning then dispatched Sharpe with articles for the Dutch to agree to, who met their column marching down Broadway toward the fort. It was now about seven o'clock in the evening. Captain Anthony Colve, who commanded the Dutch forces, readily accepted the proposed articles, which merely surrendered the fort and garrison with the honors of war. Manning himself had meanwhile caused the fort gates to be opened, and the Dutch marched in, while the garrison

CHAP. IV.

1673.

The Dutch
fire on Fort
James,
which re-
turns a
shot.

Fort James
surrendered.



CHAP. IV. marched out with colors flying and drums beating, and
 1673. grounded their arms. The English soldiers were now ordered back into the fort, and committed to prison in the church. Before the sun went down, at the end of that eventful summer's day, the three-colored ensign of the Dutch Republic rose to its old place on the flag-staff of her ancient fort, and New York reposed again under the dominion of her former lords.* Stuyvesant was avenged.
 THE DUTCH HAD TAKEN NEW YORK.

30 July.
 9 August
 New York
 conquered
 by the
 Dutch.

* Col. Doc., ii., 597, 659; iii., 199-206, 234; iv., 1151; Doc. Hist., iii., 53-65; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 18; Col. MSS., xxiv., 36-53, 97; Hist. Mag., i. (ii.), 298; N. Y. City Rec.; Dunlap, i., 129. Smith, i., 43, carelessly asserts that Manning "treacherously made his peace with the enemy," and that the Dutch "landed their men and entered the garrison without giving or receiving a shot." Smith's statement has been credulously adopted. The weight of authority, which I have followed, seems to be that the fort did actually return the fire of the Dutch fleet: compare Col. Doc., iii., 199, 201, 206; iv., 1151; Hist. Mag., i. (ii.), 298; Doc. Hist., iii., 62. Manning's real fault was that he allowed the ships to anchor before the fort without firing on them: see Doc. Hist., iii., 55, 56, 58. But, after all, he was as badly off as Stuyvesant, nine years before: see *ante*, 34. Compare Cadwallader Colden, in the Collections of the New York Historical Society for the year 1868, p. 184.



CHAPTER V.

1673-1674.

THE recovery of New York by the Dutch was an absolute conquest by an open enemy in time of war. All its circumstances differed from those which had disgraced the capture of New Netherland by the English nine years before. Then, while the mother-countries were at peace, a treacherous expedition, deliberately prepared, had seized the territory of an unsuspecting ally: yet the British commander felt it necessary to grant the most liberal articles of capitulation. But now, after proclaimed hostilities, and distinct warnings for more than a year, the ships of the Batavian Republic came boldly to recover what had been robbed from an insulted fatherland; and the English ensign fell beneath the Dutch avengers, who, welcomed by their countrymen, marched triumphantly into the old fortress, which surrendered to their discretion.

"Not the smallest" article of capitulation, except military honors to the garrison, was granted by the victors. They had unexpectedly captured a prize from the aggressive enemy of their nation. Their reconquest annihilated British sovereignty over ancient New Netherland, and extinguished the duke's proprietary government in New York, with that of his grantees in New Jersey. Evertsen and Binckes for the time represented the Dutch Republic, under the dominion of which its recovered American province instantly passed, by right of successful war. The effete West India Company was in no way connected with the transaction.*

Never had the Bay of New York held so majestic a fleet

* Col. Doc., ii., 536, 611; iii., 202; Doc. Hist., iii., 55, 56, 61, 62; Eliz. Bill, 6, 7, 57. The old West India Company went into liquidation soon after the conquest of New Netherland in 1664, and the new corporation took no interest in its recapture: Murphy's *Steendam*, 14, 19; Col. Doc., ii., 534, 535.

CHAP. V. as that now anchored in its beautiful waters. Two ships loading for England were added as prizes to the force of the conquerors. The condition of the province, thus marvelously restored to the republican Netherlands, was far different from what it was when the English appropriated it to themselves. New York, including New Jersey and Delaware, now contained three chief towns and thirty villages, and its Dutch population was estimated at between six and seven thousand. The event which brought its Batavian inhabitants once more under the authority of the States General and the Prince of Orange, "their lawful and native Sovereigns," was hailed by them with boundless joy. It more than atoned for the bitterness with which they had endured "the insolent injustice of England's original acquisition." Once more, "The Fatherland" became a household word. The cry of "Oranje Boven" was soon as familiar in Manhattan as in that fatherland.*

1673.
The Dutch
fleet in
New York.

Condition
of the prov-
ince.

The prov-
ince again
named
New Neth-
erland.

Fort James
named
Willem
Hendrick.

Evertsen,
and
Binckes,
and Coun-
cil of War
in power.

The name of "New Netherland" was of course restored to the reconquered territory, which was held to embrace not only all that the Dutch possessed according to the Hartford agreement of 1650, but also the whole of Long Island east of Oyster Bay, which originally belonged to the province, and which the king had granted to the Duke of York. Fort James was named "Willem Hendrick," in honor of the Prince of Orange. It was, first of all, necessary to extemporize a provisional government. No orders had been given to Evertsen or Binckes about New Netherland. Its recovery was a lucky accident, wholly due to the enterprise of the two commodores; upon whom fell the responsibility of governing their conquest until directions should come from the Hague. As commanders of separate Dutch squadrons, Evertsen, of Zealand, and Binckes, of Holland, alternately wore the admiral's flag for a week. Associating with themselves Captains Anthony Colve, Nicolas Boes, and Abram Ferdinandus van Zyll, as an advisory Council of War, they held regular sessions, first at the City Hall, and afterward at the fort. Their most important duty was to appoint "a fit and able person as Governor General, to hold the supreme command over this con-

* Col. Doc., ii., 525, 593; iii., 200; Doc. Hist., i., 467; Lambrechtsen, 34-36; Graham, i., 422; ante, 203.



quest of New Netherland." Anthony Colve, of Zealand, who appears to have served as an ensign at the capture of Surinam in 1667, and was now a captain in the Dutch infantry, was chosen for the office. To him Evertsen and Binckes gave a commission "to be Governor General of this Country and Forts thereunto belonging, with all the appendencies and dependencies thereof, to govern, rule, and protect them from all invasions of enemies, as he, to the best of his ability, shall judge most necessary." Colve's commission described his government as extending from fifteen miles south of Cape Henlopen to the east end of Long Island and Shelter Island, thence through the middle of the Sound to Greenwich, and so northerly, according to the boundary made in 1630, including Delaware Bay and all the intermediate territory, as possessed by the English under the Duke of York. But Pemaquid, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket, not having been under Stuyvesant's jurisdiction when New Netherland was taken from him, were not comprehended in the Dutch province now organized.*

Colve was "a man of resolute spirit, and passionate," whose arbitrary nature had not been improved by military service. He did not, however, assume the administration at once; for the naval commanders prudently determined to keep their ships in harbor until the new government should be firmly established. In the mean time they retained supreme authority in their own hands, assisted by the three captains whom they had adjoined, as a "Council of War." Matthias Nicolls, ousted from his office of provincial secretary, was replaced by Nicholas Bayard, the experienced clerk of the city, whom the Dutch commanders appointed to act as their own secretary, and as secretary and register of New Netherland under Colve.†

The name of the city of New York was, at the same time, changed to "New Orange," in compliment to the prince stadtholder, and its magistrates were released from their oaths to the late English government. At the request of the commanders, six burghers were appointed to

CHAP. V.

1673.

12 August
Anthony
Colve ap-
pointed
governor of
New Neth-
erland.

Extent of
Colve's gov-
ernment.

Council of
War re-
tains su-
premary
power.

12 August
Bayard
secretary of
New Neth-
erland.

21 August
July 4
New York
named
New Ora-
nge.

14 August

* Col. Doc., II., 528, 529, 571, 609, 610; III., 291; Smith, I., 44-45; Wagenaar, xiii., 407; De Witt's Letters, iv., 617; *ante*, 126; vol. I., 519, 520.

† Col. Rec. Conn., II., 505; Col. Doc., II., 571, 573, 578, 612; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxi., 23, 198. Among other changes, the Dutch introduced again into New Netherland the New Style, which had so long been used in Holland: see *ante*, vol. I., 443, *note*.



CHAP. V. confer with them respecting the restoration of the old municipal government, who were directed to convoke the commonalty and nominate persons "from the wealthiest inhabitants, and those only who are of the Reformed Christian Religion," out of whom the Council might select the magistrates for the city. From the nominations thus made, Johannes van Brugh, Johannes de Peyster, and Ægidius Luyck were chosen as burgomasters, and William Beekman, Jeronimus Ebbing, Jacob Kip, Laurens van der Spiegel, and Gelyn ver Planck as schepens. In place of Al-
 7, August. burgomasters, schepens, and schout.
 1673. lard Anthony, the late sheriff, Anthony de Milt was appointed schout. The new magistrates were sworn to administer "good law and justice;" promote the welfare of the city; maintain "the upright and true Christian Religion agreeably to the Word of God and the order of the Synod of Dordrecht;" uphold the supreme authority of the States General and the Prince of Orange; and were empowered to govern for one year, "both burghers and strangers, conformably to the laws and statutes of our Fatherland." The next day John Lawrence, the displaced mayor, surrendered the gowns, mace, and seal which the Duke of York had presented to the city; all of which were carefully deposited in Fort Willem Hendrick.*

8, August. English and French property seized.
 1673. Evertsen and Binckes now issued a proclamation seizing all property and debts belonging to the kings of France or England, or their subjects, and requiring every person to report such property to Secretary Bayard. Under this edict—which only retaliated that of Nicolls against the Dutch in 1665—the estates of Thomas Delavall, the duke's auditor, and of William Dervall, his son-in-law, were especially attached. The houses of Lovelace and Manning had already been plundered by the Dutch troops in the heat of conquest; but Manning himself had been courteously allowed to wear his sword. Mayor Lawrence's house had been spared, at the request of the Dutch burghers. Van Ruyven, the receiver of the Duke of York's revenues, although an old Dutchman, was, nevertheless, required to render a strict account.†

* Col. Doc., ii., 571, 575; Doc. Hist., i., 330, 331; New York City Rec., vii.; Val. Man., 1550, 487, 499; Valentine's New York, 173, 174; Moulton's New Orange, 6, 7; *ante*, 158.

† Col. Doc., ii., 578, 589, 591, 603, 608, 633; iii., 200, 206; Dutch. Coll., 463; Court of Appeals, ii., 539; Val. Man., 1552, 331, 334; *ante*, 59, 80, 91.



The metropolis being secured, two hundred men were sent up the river, in several vessels, to reduce Esopus and Albany. No opposition was shown. Salisbury at once surrendered Fort Albany "upon the same terms with New York, namely, at mercy," and all the English soldiers were brought down to New York as prisoners of war. As the number of these prisoners was now embarrassing, they were embarked for Europe, with Manning, Salisbury, Dudley Lovelace, and other subordinate officers, in three ships from Binckes's squadron, and one of Evertsen's, under the command of Captains Boes and Van Zyll. A small prize, taken in the West Indies, was also placed in charge of Andries Michielsens, and dispatched to Amsterdam with letters from Binckes, detailing the capture of New York.*

Meanwhile Lovelace, after enjoying Winthrop's hospitality at Hartford, and arranging his favorite post-office project, had met, on his return to New Haven, Manning's "unwelcome news" of the Dutch approach before New York. On reaching Mamaroneck, he learned that they had taken the fort. Hoping to retrieve the calamity, the governor hastened over to Long Island to raise its militia. At Justice Cornwell's, near Flushing, he met Secretary Matthias Nicolls, who agreed to go over to the fort on the next Saturday, while the governor was to keep himself "out of the enemy's hand," and raise the country to reduce the place again. But, being "colloqued with" by one of the Dutch domines, Lovelace weakly consented to revisit his old quarters in the fort "for three days." On the afternoon of Saturday, the third day after the surrender, one of the Dutch commanders accordingly went in his barge, with Orange flag and trumpet, over to Long Island; and Lovelace and Nicolls returned with him to the fort. The English governor was "peaceably and respectfully" entertained by his conquerors. But, before the three days were out, Lovelace's creditors arrested him for debt. The proclamation of Evertsen and Binckes soon afterward stripped

CHAP. V.

1673.

16 August.
Albany
and Esopus
reduced.16 August.
English
prisoners
sent to Eu-
rope.

13 August.

31 July.
10 August.
Lovelace
on Long
Island.

11 August.

13 August.
Lovelace
over to
New York
and arrived
at

13 August.

* Col. Doc., ii., 527, 576; iii., 202, 203, 205, 206; Hist. Mag., iv., 50; 1 (il.), 298; Sylvius, ix., 602; x., 25; Doc. Hist., iii., 44, 50. Michielsens was captured in the Channel, off Baschy Head, and obliged to throw his dispatches overboard. He got to Amsterdam on 24 October, 1673; but the Admiralty there found him "a man of so little curiosity that he had no particulars to report" about the reconquest of New York: Col. Doc., ii., 527, 528, 529. The original dispatches of Nicolls, detailing his capture of New York in 1664, were also lost at sea: ante, 50, note.

Oct. 11. him of all his property; but the commanders told him that, on paying his debts, he might leave the country within six weeks. With touching simplicity the ruined Lovelace wrote to Winthrop: "I am now intending for England, with all the conveniency I may, unlesse prevented. Albany is surrendered on the same termes this did, which was too lean and poor for persons of Honour. However, they would willingly frame some excuses, and shoulder the blame and burthen from one to the other. Some shelter themselves under the shields of my absence, which, though (it is confest) it proved unfortunate, yet the means that were afforded them to a handsomer resistance and prudent managery can plead no excuse. To be brief—it was *digitus Dei*, who exalts and depresses as he pleases, and to whom we must all submit. Would you be curious to know what my losses might amount to—I can in short resolve you. It was my all which ever I had been collecting; too greate to misse in this wildernesses."*

Long Isl-
land: 1
towns: 1
and towns.
1 August.
15 August.
 No sooner had the Dutch commanders established themselves in the metropolis than the nearest six Long Island towns—Midwout, Amersfoort, Brooklyn, New Utrecht, Bushwick, and Gravesend, together with Staten Island, submitted to their authority. These towns were chiefly settled by rejoicing Hollanders. Upon their nomination, Jacob Strycker, of Brooklyn, was appointed schout, and Francis de Bruyn, of New Utrecht, secretary of the district; from each of the six towns, of which four persons named by them were made schepens. Peter Biljou was appointed schout, and two others schepens of Staten Island.†

1 August.
1 August.
Proclamation
of
Evertsen
and
Burches.
 But the other towns of Long Island and Westchester showed no disposition to submit to the Dutch. They were therefore summoned to send deputies to New Orange, with their constables' staves and English flags, in place of which they would be furnished with the prince's colors as soon as possible. The commanders, in a proclamation, declared that although the fort and city on Manhattan Island had "surrendered themselves without any Capitulation or Articles," yet that no harm would be done to any of the in-

* Col. Doc., II., 578, 583, 587, 603, 625; III., 198, 200, 201, 202, 203, 205, 206; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 86, 87; MSS. Trumbull Papers, xx., 104, 105; Hist. Mag., I. (II.), 298; ante, 206.

† Col. Doc., II., 573, 577, 580, 586, 643.



habitants of New Netherland who should submit to the Dutch government. Each town was required to send two delegates to the fort, authorized to take the oath of allegiance, and bring with them their English colors and constables' staves, "whereupon they shall be considered and governed, without respect of nations, as good and faithful subjects;" but, if they refused, they would be forcibly subdued.*

The fact that Lovelace was in the hands of the Dutch commanders added emphasis to their summons. Westchester, Eastchester, and Mamaroneck promptly sent delegates, and magistrates were selected from their nominations. The five Long Island towns—Flushing, Jamaica, Middelburg, Oyster Bay, and Hempstead—upon the petition of their delegates, were granted the usual privileges, but with a warning not to take up arms against the present Dutch government, as some of them had "formerly done, contrary to honor and oath," against that of Stuyvesant. From their nominations, William Lawrence, of Flushing, was chosen to be schout, and Carel van Brugge secretary of the district, and three schepens were selected for each of the five towns. At the same time Captain William Knyff and Lieutenant Jeronymus de Hubert were sent with Ephraim Hermann, a clerk in Secretary Bayard's office, to administer the oath of allegiance to the inhabitants of the neighboring towns, which was readily taken by all except the Quakers.†

But the five towns in the East Riding were not disposed to submit to the Dutch commanders. On receiving their proclamation, Southampton, "struck with amazement," sent to Hartford "for their advice or help." Connecticut, however, would not encourage the "poore towne" to stand out alone. She was about to send messengers to New Orange on her own affairs, which had suddenly come to a critical point. John Selleck, of Stamford, going in a ketch to Long Island, was captured by a Dutch cruiser. Another sloop was taken, but, being neglected by her captors, was retaken on the "Sabbath day following." The

CHAP. V.

1673.

20 August.
Officers appointed on
Long Island.

31 August.

19 August.

The last
and only
one Long
Island town
to be
captured
by the
Dutch
cruiser.

22 August.

* Col. Doc., II., 572, 573; III., 202; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 87; Wood, 96.

† C. A. Doc., II., 580, 581, 582, 583, 591, 592, 596; Val. Man., 1800, 520, 521; ante, vol. I., 719, 723, 724, 726, 730, 733.



CHAP. V. General Court met at Hartford; a military committee was organized; and troops were ordered to be ready. James

1673.

7 August.
Connecticut letter
to the
Dutch
command-
ers.

Richards and William Rosewell were also sent with a letter to the Dutch commanders, which, with "amazing absurdity," lectured them for treating "His Majesty's subjects" in time of war, as Charles the Second had treated the colonists of Holland in time of peace, nine years before; inquired their "further intentions;" and declared that the United Colonies of New England would defend their sovereign's authority "in these parts." The Connecticut

24 August.

delegates delivered this letter to the Council of War at New Orange, and explained verbally that their colony would not molest the Dutch province if nothing hostile was done against her by New Netherland. They were courteously asked to put in writing what they had to say; but they declined to do this, because "such written negotiations might be turned to the worst use by any disaffected person of their colony." The Connecticut messengers were then handed a reply, with which they returned to Hartford. In soldier-like style, the Dutch commanders answered that it was "very strange" that their enemies should object to the results of war; that the Republic of the Netherlands had commissioned them to do all manner of damage to its enemies, in consequence of which the neighborhood of the Hudson River had been reduced to obey Dutch authority; and they declared that, as the villages east of Oyster Bay "did belong to this Government," they would be likewise subjected, and prompt punishment would be visited on all "those that shall seek to maintain the said villages in their injustice."*

Answer of
the Dutch
command-
ers.

In the mean time, deputies from Southampton, Easthampton, Southold, Brookhaven, and Huntington had met at Jamaica, and drawn up a paper, in which, after stating that they had not heard from their governor, Lovelace, who was "peaceably and respectfully entertained" in the fort, they asked the Dutch commanders to allow them, upon their submission, to retain their ecclesiastical privileges, and enjoy several other particular liberties. On

24 August.

* Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 57; xxxvii., 570, 571; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 181-183, 204, 208, 561, 562; Plymouth Col. Rec., x., 387, 388; Col. Doc., ii., 584, 586, 602, 606; iii., 291, 293; Trumbull, i., 323, 324; Graham, i., 421; Thompson, i., 153, 154; Palfrey, iii., 129; ante, 24, 25.



reaching New Orange, the deputies met the Connecticut messengers, whom they found were "shy and cautious" about giving advice. But Captain Nathaniel Sylvester, of Shelter Island, who had come from Hartford with Richards and Rosewell, advised his Long Island neighbors "by all means" to submit to the Dutch government. The delegates accordingly "declared to submit themselves to the obedience of their High Mightinesses the Lords States General of the United Netherlands, and his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange." Upon this their petition was granted in all points, except that in regard to appointing officers and sending deputies they should have the same privileges enjoyed by the Dutch towns, and that their request to buy whaling tools in New England could not "in this conjuncture of time be allowed." The next day they were directed to nominate for approbation a schout and a secretary for the district, and four magistrates for each town, who should be "only such as are of the Reformed Christian Religion, or at least well affected to it."*

Nathaniel Sylvester now asked for a confirmation of the privileges which Nicolls had granted to Shelter Island in 1666. It was found, however, that the heirs of his deceased brother Constant, of Barbadoes, and Colonel Thomas Middleton, who lived in England, were part owners. Their share was accordingly confiscated, and Sylvester bought it of the Dutch authorities for five hundred pounds "in this country's provisions." Upon his giving a bond for this payment, Shelter Island was duly conveyed to Sylvester, with all the usual privileges. David Gardiner, who had early offered his submission, was likewise, on his personal promise of obedience, confirmed in the possession of his island, with "the same privileges and pre-eminences that may be granted to the other subjects of this Government."†

Upon the return of their deputies from New Orange, the five eastern towns of Long Island, having "duly weighed" their circumstances, and found that they must follow their "neighbour townes in submitting to the Dutch Government," nominated magistrates, and sent their discarded English flags and constables' staves to Fort Willem Hendrick.

CHAP. V.

1673.

Long Isl-
and dele-
gates at
New Or-
ange.12th August.12th August.13th August.
Shelter Isl-
and.

20 Septem.

1 October.
Gardiner's
Island.

28 August.

7 Septem.
Submission
of the East-
ern towns.

* Col. Doc., II., 582, 584, 586; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 51.

† Col. Doc., II., 581-590, 622; Thompson, I., 175, 367; Wood, 9; ante, 90, 107.



CHAP. V. From these nominations the Council of War chose Isaac Arnold, of Southold, to be schout, and Henry Pierson, of

1673.
29 August.
8 Septem.
Officers appointed.

Southampton, to be secretary of the five towns, and two from each town to be magistrates. A petition for a modification of the oath from some of the more scrupulous inhabitants was at the same time presented, which the council promptly granted, and instructed Schout Arnold to give notice that it would be administered by commissioners to be sent for that purpose. Nevertheless, the five towns were very reluctant to acknowledge the Dutch authority; and Southampton felt constrained to address a declaration to all his British majesty's subjects in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Plymouth, or elsewhere, "to take off an aspersion cast upon us, as though we should freely submit to this foreign government."*

29 August.
8 Septem.
Southampton addressed.

22 August.
1 Septem.
Kingston named
Swanenburg.

Albany named
Willemstadt.

Delegates from Albany and Esopus had meanwhile appeared at the fort, and received prompt satisfaction. The name of Kingston was changed to "Swanenburg," after Evertsen's flag-ship; but the names of Hurley and Marbletown were not altered. Albany was ordered to be called "Willemstadt," and its fort was named "Nassau." A garrison was directed to be maintained, and presents made to the five Iroquois nations, "in order to prevent the designs and undertakings of our enemies the French." Schenectady was to observe the regulations established by Stuyvesant and Nicolls. Jeremias van Rensselaer was allowed to enjoy his previous privileges for a year, upon contributing three hundred schepels of wheat; but was required to obtain a new grant from the States General.†

25 August.
4 Septem.
Rensselaerwyck.

New Jersey named
"Achter Col."
13 August.

Dutch authority was quietly re-established over New Jersey, the name of which was changed to "Achter Col." The very day that Evertsen and Binckes began their sessions at Fort Willem Hendrick, delegates came to them from Elizabethtown, Newark, Woodbridge, and Piscataway, to treat for a surrender. They were partisans of James Carteret, and opponents of Berry, the acting gov-

* Col. Doc., ii., 601, 602; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 86-88; Hist. Mag., i. (ii.), 293; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 212, 503; Wood, 96.

† Col. Doc., ii., 559, 592-597; Doc. Hist., iii., 60; Val. Man., 1852, 431. Van Rensselaer was ordered to account to Joanna de Laet, wife of Schepen Jeronymus Ebbing, for the tenth part of the colony, which she had inherited from her father, John de Laet. The next year she sold her interest to Van Rensselaer: Col. Doc., i., 406, 407, 519, 534; ii., 549-561, 566, 597; Val. Man., 1555, 521; Barnard's Sketch, 109, 132; ante, vol. i., 204, 535.



error. A few days afterward delegates from these towns, and from Middletown and Shrewsbury, came to the fort, and were granted the usual privileges. Berry and his friends were treated with the same liberality. Bergen, of which the population was chiefly Dutch, nominated officers, who were promptly confirmed; and every one of her seventy-eight burghers who were present when the commanders visited the town the next Sunday, "after the sermon," took the oath. John Ogden was appointed schout, and Samuel Hopkins, whose timely information had brought the Dutch fleet from Virginia, was made secretary of the other six towns; from each of which three magistrates were likewise chosen, among whom was Daniel Denton, of Piscataway, the author of the recently published "Brief Description of New York." Bollen, the late secretary of New Jersey, was directed to deliver his papers to Hopkins; but, as he was charged with "having made away with some of them," the records were ordered to be deposited with the provincial secretary Bayard, in Fort Willem Hendrick.*

Deputies from the Delaware were promised freedom of trade and commerce, and equal privileges to all the inhabitants who should take the oath of allegiance. Courts of justice were also established at New Anstel, Upland, and the Hoarkill; and the usual nominations of magistrates were ordered to be sent by the schout, Peter Alrichs, to New Orange, for approval.†

The affairs of the metropolis went on with great regularity. Measures were taken to improve the fortifications; and, as these were made chiefly of earth, owners of hogs were directed to prevent them from roaming in the streets south of the "Fresh Water," or Kolek, lest they should damage the works. The Dutch Church having again become the establishment in New Netherland, its service was conducted by Domine van Nieuwenhuysen, to the

CHAP. V.

1673.

18 August.

11 August.

17 August.

22 August.

1 Septem.

Officers appointed.

28 August.

7 Septem.

24 Septem.

2, Septem.

Delaware affairs.

18 August.

New Orange regulations.

The Dutch Church again established.

* Col. Doc., ii., 571, 572, 576-580, 582, 587, 595, 598, 600, 602, 603, 606, 607; iii., 201, 203, 215, 214; Smith, i., 44; Whitehead, 60, 61, 62; *ante*, 154. The estate of Governor Philip Carteret was ordered to be inventoried; and Robert la Prairie, or Vanquellien, and Jonathan Singletary, who had tried to secrete some of it, were brought to the fort, where the latter was fined, and Vanquellien sentenced to banishment for publicly declaring "that the People of York had still an interest in Fort James, and that there would be another change within half a year."

† Col. Doc., ii., 604, 605; S. Hazard, 407, 408.



CHAP. V. great acceptance of Reformed Protestant Dutch people, in Kieft's old church in the fort.*

1673.
29 August.
September.
Letter of
the munic-
ipality of
New Or-
ange to the
States Gen-
eral.

Import-
ance of
New Neth-
erland to
Holland.

Van Ruyven now intending to return to Holland, the schout, burgomasters, and schepens of New Orange intrusted to him a letter to the States General, in which—after thanking them for reducing the inhabitants of New Netherland again under the obedience of “their lawful and native Sovereigns, from whose protection they were cut off, about nine years ago, in time of peace”—they represented how advantageous the province, which now consisted of three cities and thirty villages, might be made to the fatherland. Many private families there, ruined by the French invasion, could live easily in New Netherland, which, with a larger farming population, would soon become “a granary and magazine of many necessaries” which Holland ordinarily imported from the Baltic. Esopus alone, which the last year had produced twenty-five thousand schepels of grain, could supply the Dutch colonies of Curaçoa and Surinam. New Netherland could also, by its peltries, maintain the Dutch commerce with Muscovy; and the tobacco trade, besides many other interesting details, would be personally explained on his arrival by Van Ruyven, who had filled “divers respectable offices here.” But, above all, the province would be especially important as a naval station, and as a watch-tower, from which a constant eye could be kept on the King of England, “who, in case he only came to be Lord and Master of this northern part of America, would be able to equip ships here, unknown to any Prince or Potentate in Europe, and thus, most unexpectedly, fall on our state or its allies.” Yet, without speedy re-enforcements from the fatherland, its “good Dutch inhabitants,” who were not more than six or seven thousand, and scattered over a vast country, could not resist “its numerous neighboring English and French enemies, by whom it is encompassed around on all sides.” The States General were therefore urged to dispatch such aid as might, after the departure of the Dutch fleet, defend “this newly-recovered Province.” This statesmanlike let-

* New Orange Rec., vii., 16-20; Val. Man., 1850, 490-498; Corr. Classis of Amsterdam: Letter of Van Nieuwenhuysen, 26 July, 1674; Col. Dec., ii., 705, 790. The other Dutch clergymen in New Netherland were Polhemus on Long Island, and Schaats at Albany, or Willemsstadt: Blom having left Esopus in 1667, and Drisius having died on 18 April, 1673.



ter could hardly have failed to produce a decisive effect in Holland. But a remarkable fatality prevented its delivery in time to advance "the Dutch interest."* CHAP. V.
1673.

This appeal of the corporation of New Orange was quickened by the determination of Evertsen and Binckes to depart with all their ships of war, leaving New Netherland unprotected. Hearing of this, the city authorities represented the exposed condition of the country, surrounded by English and French colonies, and its scattered Dutch population of six thousand outnumbered, fifteen to one, by that of New England. These English and French subjects had now become enemies, and would endeavor to gain New Netherland as soon as it should be left to its own resources for defense. The Duke of York, and Berkeley, and Carteret were all alike interested in its recovery. "This, without doubt, renders some so bold as to say already that something else will be seen before Christmas, and that the King of England will never suffer the Dutch to remain and sit down here, in the centre of all his dominions, to his serious prejudice in many respects; so that we are inevitably to expect a visit from our malevolent neighbors of old, now our bitter enemies, unless they be prevented, under God, by your valiant prowess and accompanying force." Two ships of war, under the command of one of the superior officers, should therefore winter in the province, and not leave its inhabitants "a prey to be destroyed or to be sold as slaves to the English Plantations."†

27 August.
6 Septem.
The corporation of New Orange decides ships of war for its protection.

The commanders replied that the garrison in the fort could protect the place sufficiently against all enemies; but, as the petitioners were so urgent, the frigate *Surinam*, of forty guns, Captain Evert Evertsen, and the sloop or snow *Zeehond* (or *Seal*), Captain Cornelis Ewoutsen, would be left under the command of Governor Colve until the province should be "furnished with other help, either from Fatherland, or by the ships already sailed hence." As these vessels belonged to Evertsen's Zealand squadron, Binckes

27 August.
6 Septem.
Ships ordered to guard the metrop.

* Col. Doc., ii., 526, 527, 532, 538; Lambrechtsen, 83-86; N. Y. H. S. Coll., i. (ii.), 115, 116. Van Ruyven embarked in the snow "Expectatie," Captain Martin Vonck, which, having lost her mast and sails in a storm, managed to get into Nantucket, whence Van Ruyven returned to New York in the following November: Col. Doc., ii., 532, 658, 662, 663; Col. Doc. Conn., iii., 565; Mass. Rec., iv. (ii.), 573, 574; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 193. Vonck sailed again in the ketch "Hope" in January, 1674: Col. Doc., ii., 677; *post*, p. 258.

† Col. Doc., ii., 598-600; Doc. Hist., i., 467.



CHAP. V. agreed that the Admiralty of Amsterdam should bear its just proportion of all expenses and damages which might happen to them during their special service in New Netherland.*

1673.
31 August.
10 Septem.

Some necessary police regulations were now adopted. Resolved Waldron was directed "to forbid the ferry people at Haerlem and Spytenduyvel to put across any strangers from this Island, unless they first exhibit a pass to that effect." As many strangers were passing in and out of the metropolis, it was ordered that all persons who had not taken the oath of allegiance should leave New Orange within twenty-four hours, and that none but Dutch subjects should visit it without license; and all the inhabitants were forbidden to harbor strangers without reporting them to the schout.†

9 Septem.
Police reg-
ulations.

11 Septem.

Attracted by the fleet in the harbor, the Hackensack sachems came to the fort with several of their people, and declared their desire to live as before, in peace with the Dutch. The commanders made them presents, and promised that they should be considered "good friends" as heretofore. A few days afterward, the sachems of the Mohawks, who had come "to see the naval force and make a report," were likewise dismissed with satisfactory presents. The people of Schenectady were also confirmed in the privileges formerly granted by Stuyvesant, and the local officers nominated by them were approved.‡

13 Septem.
Visit of In-
dian sach-
ems to
New Or-
ange.

18 Septem.

Colve's commission as governor general was now entered on the records of the province. The experienced Cornelis Steenwyck was appointed counselor of New Netherland, "to assist in the direction of all cases relative to justice and police, and further in all such military concerns both by water and by land, in which the Governor shall deem proper to ask his advice and assistance." Cornelis Ewoutsen, the commander of the snow Zeehond, was made superintendent of gunners and ammunition. Nicholas Bayard, who had been commissioned as secretary and register of New Netherland, was also appointed receiver general of the provincial revenue. All these appointments

19 Septem.
Colve's
counselor
and subor-
dinate offi-
cers.

20 Septem.

* Col. Doc., ii., 600, 611, 612, 649, 654, 655, 662, 664, 682, 702, 707, 715, 726; Val. Man., 1850, 522.

† Col. Doc., ii., 603, 605, 609.

‡ Col. Doc., ii., 602, 604.



were made subject to the approval of the "Lords Principals" in the fatherland.*

The commanders now issued a proclamation, referring to their former one of the eighteenth of August, and declaring that, as "not the smallest capitulation" was entered into at the surrender of the fort and province to the States General and the Prince of Orange, all the property belonging to the kings of England and France, and their subjects, was liable to confiscation and forfeiture. They therefore confiscated all such property, especially that of the Duke of York, his governors, officers, and agents, to the benefit of the Dutch government. Nevertheless, they excepted the effects of "the actual inhabitants of the neighboring colonies of New England, Virginia, and Maryland," which, "for sufficient reasons," were for the present exempted from this confiscation.†

Under this act, the property of Lovelace, Delavall, Carteret, Manning, Willett, and others was placed in the hands of commissioners. Lovelace was also required forthwith to leave the province, and go either to New England or to Holland in one of the returning vessels. His request to go to Europe in Commander Binckes's ship was promptly granted. Delavall accompanied Lovelace. The Dutch commodores soon afterward sailed—Binckes directly to Holland; and Evertsen by way of the West Indies, Fayal, and Cadiz, to Zealand.‡

ANTHONY COLVE now assumed the government of New Netherland. To give greater state to his office, he set up a coach drawn by three horses. In all ordinary business he was assisted by Counselor Steenwyck and Secretary Bayard. On important occasions, the authorities of the

CHAP. V.

1673.

29 Septem.
Confiscation of English and French property.

Exceptions made.

Lovelace's and others' property seized.

The Dutch commodores sail for Europe.

Colve assumes the government of New Netherland.

* Col. Dec., II., 605-614; ante, p. 211.

† Col. Dec., II., 578, 611, 612, 719; S. Hezerl, 499; ante, p. 212. Polfreer, II., 129, note. It must be that this forbearance on the part of the Dutch commanders may have arisen from the hope of the States General that New England would ally itself with them. But Virginia and Maryland property was at the same time exempted from forfeiture by the act of Evertsen and Binckes; and, moreover, the States General knew nothing about the matter.

‡ Col. Dec., II., 589, 587, 591, 595, 597, 603, 608, 617, 628, 642, 614, 615, 617, 651, 657, 672, 673, 688, 720, 721; III., 295, 296; Smith, I., 44. Binckes afterward commanded a squadron against the French in the West Indies, and was killed at Tobago in December, 1677. Evertsen rose to the rank of admiral, and, in November, 1678, commanded a division of the fleet which recovered the Prince of Orange to England. He died in November, 1704, and was buried at Middelburg, in Zealand: Synodica, ix., 605, n. 39; Wagenaar, xiv., 378, 384, 401, 411, 412, 456; Larcherrecht, 52, 53, 57, 58; Kock, vi., 512; xiv., 531; Col. Dec., II., 614, 517; Col. MSS., xxv., 171; Dec. Hist., III., 64, 69.



CHAP. V. city of New Orange were consulted. When questions
 1673. arose about the treatment of foreigners or their property,
 Captains William Knyff and Carel Epesteyn, of the Dutch
 infantry, were added as a Council of War.*

⁹/₁₀ Septem. Colve's first official act was to commission Peter Alrichs
 Alrichs commander on the South River. Alrichs
 commander and schout "on the South River, in New
 Netherland, lately called Delaware," where he was to
 maintain the Established Dutch Church, keep his soldiers
 in discipline, the Indians in good temper, and obey all or-
 ders from New Orange. Walter Wharton was also com-
 12 Septem. missioned to be surveyor of all the Dutch territory on the
 South River.†

¹⁶/₂₆ Septem. Lieutenant Andries Draeyer was appointed commander
 Andries Draeyer commander at Willemstadt. of Fort Nassau, and schout of the town of Willemstadt and
 the colonie of Rensselaerwyck. Draeyer was instructed,
 among other things, to maintain "the pure true Christian
 Religion agreeably to the Synod of Dort;" and, as much as
 he could, "keep the natives and Indians devoted to him,
 and, according to his ability, render the Dutch government
 agreeable to them, and obtain from them all the informa-
 tion he can respecting the trade and doings of the French,
 and present all correspondence they may carry on with the
 inhabitants of Willemstadt."‡

Lutherans at Willemstadt. The Lutherans at Willemstadt, who had enjoyed much
 liberty under the Duke of York's government, petitioned
 Colve at the same time for the "free exercise of their re-
 ligious worship, without let or hindrance, to the end that
 they may live in peace with their fellow burghers." Their
 12 Septem. request was granted, "on condition of comporting them-
 selves peaceably and quietly, without giving any offence to
 the Congregation of the Reformed Religion, which is the
 State Church."§

* Col. Doc., ii., 630, 642, 644, 662, 664, 665, 710, 715; Doc. Hist., iii., 48.

† Col. Doc., ii., 614, 615, 618, 619; S. Hazard, 498, 499.

‡ Col. Doc., ii., 593, 596, 608, 618, 627, 653, 662, 676. On the 23d of January, 1674, Com-
 mander Draeyer was married in the Dutch Church to Gerritje, a daughter of Gosen Gerrit-
 sen van Schaick, and a sister of Levinus van Schaick: Holgate, 129, 144, 145, 146; Munsell's
 Collections, i., 361; MSS. of Matthew Clarkson, Esq., communicated to me. Draeyer after-
 ward entered the Danish service, in which he became a rear-admiral; and in March, 1699,
 his widow, having returned to New York, was received, "with attestation from Copenhagen,"
 into the membership of the Dutch Church. Her son, Captain Andries Draeyer, returned
 to Denmark in April, 1700: see Records of the Collegiate R. P. D. Church of New York.
 Liber A. The Widow Draeyer's daughter, Anna Dorothea, afterward married the Reverend
 Thomas Barclay, of Albany: Holgate, 129, 144.

§ Col. Doc., ii., 611; ante, 175. It appears, however, that the "Aanspreker," or sexton

To assure the safety of the metropolis, the magistrates at "the Nevesings," near Sandy Hook, were ordered to send the earliest information to the governor of the arrival of any ships from sea. Martial law was also necessary to check the unruly troops who had so recently spoiled the West Indies. Ensign Jan Sol, the major of the garrison in Fort Willem Hendrick, was accordingly directed to enforce it severely within the citadel; and the burghers were prohibited from selling liquors or giving credits to the soldiers.*

CHAP. V.

1673.

13 Septem.
Military
precau-
tions.

21 Septem.
1 October.

The fort itself was miserably insecure. Its condition, as described by Stuyvesant, had been very little strengthened by Nicolls and Lovelace, neither of whom seem to have apprehended its being again occupied by a foreign force, and certainly not by its old masters. Houses, gardens, and orchards were clustered thickly under its earthen walls. "The newly-begun fortification of New Orange" was in the same case. Obstructions were ordered to be demolished, and their owners summoned before the governor. At the same time, an extraordinary duty was laid to indemnify those whose property was to be taken. Several of the owners accordingly appeared; other lots were assigned to most of them; and all were promised satisfaction out of the new duties. Counselor Steenwyck, with Burgomasters Van Brugh, De Peyster, and Luyck, were directed to estimate the damages, and report to the governor. The demolition of the doomed houses was effected; and each owner was recompensed for the property which the public safety required should be taken. Among the buildings thus destroyed was the Lutheran Church, which had just been built "without the gate."†

Insecurity
of Fort
Willem
Hendrick.

23 Septem.
5 October.

Incumber-
ing houses
demolish-
ed.

11 Oct.

16 Oct.

To establish a general system for the government of the towns in New Netherland, Colve drew up a "Provisional Instruction," some of the articles of which were annoying

21 Septem.
1 October.

of the Dutch Church at Willemstadt required the Lutherans to pay fees to himself, as was the custom in Holland, notwithstanding they employed their own sexton; which produced a remonstrance to Colve from Arensius, their minister, and others: Doc. Hist., iii., 525; MSS., xxiii., 296, 313, 493. * Col. Doc., ii., 619, 622-625, 650.
† Col. Doc., ii., 440, 629-631, 632-637, 655, 688, 697, 699, 700, 710, 716; iii., 87; Val. Man., 1504, 511, 512, 521, 525, 530; 1551, 435, 447, 448; New Orange Rec., vii., 42; Moulton's New Orange, 11, 12; Valentine's New York, 175; ante, 26, 81, 200. The Lutherans were allowed another lot, "No. 5 in the Company's garden," within the gate, on which they built a new church. It was at the corner of Broadway and Rector Street, where Grace Church was afterwards built: Col. Doc., ii., 636; Doc. Hist., iii., 245; ante, 174.

CHAP. V. to the English inhabitants. The local magistrates were, above all things, to "take care that the Reformed Christian Religion be maintained in conformity to the Synod of Dordrecht, without permitting any other sects attempting anything contrary thereto." Local ordinances must be conformable to the laws of Holland, and be approved by the governor. All officers must acknowledge the authority of the States General and the Prince of Orange, and "maintain their sovereign jurisdiction right and domain over this country." The magistrates were to nominate as their successors "a double number of the best qualified, the honestest, most intelligent and wealthiest inhabitants, exclusively of the Reformed Christian Religion, or at least well affected thereunto, to be presented to the Governor, who shall then make his election therefrom, with continuation of some of the old ones, in case his Honor may deem it necessary."*

1673.
Provisional
articles for
the govern-
ment of
towns.

Colve's municipal system was substantially a revival of that of Stuyvesant. The "Instruction" was ordered to be enforced in every town of the province except New Orange and Willemstadt, where some modifications were necessary. But the eastern towns of Long Island showed great disaffection, although their nominations of magistrates had been promptly confirmed. Colve therefore commissioned Captain William Knyff, Lieutenant Anthony Malypart, and the clerk, Abram Varlett, to visit all the towns east of Oyster Bay, and administer the oath to their inhabitants; and also directed their magistrates to publish his Instructions, with the proclamation for the seizure of the property of English and French subjects.†

24 Septem.
4 October.
Commissioners
sent to
Long Isl-
and towns.

9 Oct.
17
Answers of
the Long
Island
towns.

The commissioners reported that Oyster Bay had taken the oath, while Huntington desired to be excused, upon promising in writing to be faithful to the government of New Netherland. Setauket, or Brookhaven, apologized, and asked a suspension of censure, because her people wished to preserve their English allegiance, and yet to live in peace with the Dutch government. Easthampton acknowledged the "Christian and moderate" dealing of the

* Col. Dec., ii., 620-622, 653, 654, 678-680.

† Col. Dec., ii., 578, 586, 591, 601, 602, 616, 620, 622, 626, 628; Whitehead, 61; ante, 212; vol. I., 540, 548, 574, 613, 619, 640.

Dutch; but asked to be left as she was, as her letters had been opened and read at Southampton, where threats against her submission had been uttered by "several disaffected persons." Southold objected to several clauses in the "Instruction," but was "willing to submit" to the Dutch government, if the articles first promised should be performed, and the town be protected "from the invasion of those which daily threaten us." Knowing that Evertsen and Binckes had left New Netherland, Southampton declared that Colve's "Instructions" overthrew what had been previously agreed upon; that the town could not abjure its king, and swear allegiance to a foreign power; yet, that it would not disturb the Dutch, unless molested by them, or "called thereunto by His Majesty's power of England."*

CHAP. V.

1673.

On receiving this report, Colve called the burgomasters and schepens of New Orange to advise with the council, and was disposed to send the frigate Surinam, with a "considerable force," to the Eastern towns, and "punish them as rebels, in case they persist in refusing to swear obedience." The majority thought "that, in this conjuncture of war, it was not advisable to attack them by force of arms, as we should thereby be affording them, and the neighboring Colonies, occasion again to take up arms against us; but they judged it better to send a second delegation."†

10 Oct.
Colve re-
frains from
reducing
the recu-
sant towns.

It was gratifying, however, that Midwout, Bushwick, New Utrecht, Amersfoort, Brooklyn, and Gravesend, in Schout Jacob Strycker's district, declared that "the entire of the people" would observe their oaths, and, in case of attack, would assist New Orange in resisting the enemy. These loyal Dutch towns were accordingly allowed to select their own military officers.‡

10 Oct.
The Dutch
towns sub-
sistive.

Lewis Morris,§ and Nathaniel Sylvester, with whom he

* Col. Doc., ii., 652, 658-642; Wood, 96.

† Col. Doc., ii., 642, 643.

‡ Col. Doc., ii., 577, 642, 645, 646; *ante*, 214.

§ Lewis Morris was a Welshman, a brother of Richard Morris, of Westchester, and a Cromwellian officer, who was sent to the West Indies, and settled himself at Barbadoes, where he became a Quaker, and entertained George Fox. After the death of his brother Richard in 1672, he was allowed by Colve to come to New Netherland, "on condition that he attempt nothing to its prejudice during his sojourn." Morris was accordingly granted the guardianship of his infant nephew, and custody of his brother Richard's effects, under the direction of the "Orphan Chamber" of New Orange, although his own estate was confiscated as belonging to a then Barbadian: Col. Doc., ii., 595, 617, 619, 631, 632, 645, 650, 654; Besse, ii., 1, 133, 214, 215; Fox's Journal, 442; Smith, i., 299; Bolton, ii., 250-260; Whitehead's Memoir of L. Morris, 1-5; *ante*, 140, 183, 190.

CHAP. V. was staying at Shelter Island, now asked the governor to
 1673. send "a second embassy to the east end of Long Island, so
 that the innocent may not be punished with the guilty."

15 Oct. Colve therefore dispatched Captain Knyff and Ensign
 Oaths ad- Nicholas Vos to administer the oath to such as might "be
 minister- free to take the same." Huntington and Setauket were
 ed. accordingly visited; and their inhabitants and officers read-
 ily swore fidelity to the Dutch government.*

By advice of his council, which agreed with that of Mor-
 ris and Sylvester, Governor Colve, instead of sending the
 20 Oct. frigate Surinam, directed Counselor Steenwyck, with Cap-
 tain Charles Epesteyn and Lieutenant Charles Quirynsen,
 to visit Easthampton, Southold, and Southampton, and "ad-
 monish the inhabitants of their duty and true submission,
 and also to establish the elected magistrates in their respect-
 The East- iven offices, and to administer the oath, as well unto them
 ern towns as the rest of the inhabitants there." If any New England
 admonish- vessels were met, they were not to be molested. If the
 ed. people of the towns objected to swear, they were to be al-
 lowed to promise obedience; but their magistrates must
 take the oath, as the Schout Arnold had already done.
 Concessions were promised regarding trade with the New
 England colonies, the nomination of local officers, and what-
 ever the people might "ask in fairness." But, if they should
 be obstinate, the chief mutineers were to be reported at
 New Orange. Steenwyck, with his colleagues, accordingly
 21 Oct. embarked in the "Zeehond," under the command of Cap-
 tain Cornelis Ewoutsen.†

In the mean time, Rhode Island, which did not belong
 12 Aug. to the New England confederation, had passed laws for the
 Rhode Isl- defense of the colony, in case it should be attacked by the
 and. Dutch. On receiving the answer of Evertsen and Binckes,
 27 August. Connecticut summoned a meeting of the commissioners of
 6 Septem. the United Colonies at Hartford. A "remonstrance" was
 Connecti- there adopted, recommending each confederate to take care
 cut. for its own defense, and to aid any other which might be
 15 Sept. first invaded. Plymouth did not see satisfactory grounds
 Plymouth. for a war upon the Dutch at New York "without express
 command" of the king, or the actual invasion of a New

* Col. Doc., ii., 645, 647; Wood, 96, 97; Thompson, i., 154, 155; *ante*, 217.

† Col. Doc., ii., 648, 649, 654; Wood, 97; *ante*, 218.

England colony. Massachusetts; characteristically selfish, notwithstanding the appeal of Southampton, "did not judge it expedient to engage" in the matter further than to provide for her own safety. This was owing, not to love of the Dutch, or hatred of the Duke of York, but to an ever-controlling thirst for individual aggrandizement. At this very time, Captain Cleyborne, of the English frigate Garland, being at Boston, offered to retake New York with his own ship, if Massachusetts would assist him with some sailors, soldiers, and provisions. But the General Court would do so only on condition that "the conquest might be added to Massachusetts; and if that were refused, it would rather that Manhattan remained in possession of the Dutch than that it should be put into the hands of Colonel Lovelace, the former governor." At the same time, upon the petition of John Payne, to whom a large tract had been granted, the Court ordered "the running of their southern line to Hudson's River." But this attitude of Massachusetts did her no good at Whitehall.*

Connecticut, however, yearned after Long Island. Howell, Younge, and James, as representatives of the three eastern towns, petitioned for "protection and government" against the Dutch, and were received with great favor at Hartford. Letters were sent to Plymouth and Massachusetts, asking their concurrence; upon favorable answers to which, the governor and some other magistrates of Connecticut were authorized "to protect the people of the east end of Long Island, and to establish government amongst them." But the reply from Boston was unsatisfactory. In cloudy words it intimated that Massachusetts was "ignorant of the extent" of the Connecticut patent, yet admitted an obligation to aid the Long Island people, as Englishmen, against the Dutch, as a national enemy; while the Hartford "claim of jurisdiction over them" was testily rejected. Connecticut, nevertheless, commissioned Samuel Willys and Captain Fitz John Winthrop to go to Long Island with "necessary attendants;" treat with such Dutch forces as they might find there; and warn them that opposition

CHAP. V.

1673.

29 Sept.
Massachusetts.17 Oct.
Boundary
to be run.

14 Oct.

17 Oct.

18 Oct.

21 October
3 Novem.
Massachusetts rejects
Connecticut.22 October.
3 Novem.
Connecticut sends
commissioners to
Long Island.

* Col. Rec. Conn., II., 562, 563; III., 486, 487; R. I. Rec., II., 488-500; Plymouth Col. Rec., v., 134; x., 387; Mass. Rec., iv. (II.), 548, 549, 561, 570; Arnold, I., 306, 307; Chalmers, I., 431, 434; Dutch. Coll., 443; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 86-88, 96; Palfrey, III., 121, 122, 304; 306, 188, 216.

CHAP. V. would provoke the Hartford authorities to consider what they were "nextly obliged to do."*

1673.

21 Oct.
Connecti-
cut lec-
tures
Colve.

The Connecticut magistrates also lectured "the commander of the Dutch forces at New York" for urging his majesty's subjects on Long Island to swear allegiance against the King of England, and threatened that if he persisted, the New England colonies would attack him at "headquarters." These "animadversions" were sent to New Orange "by Mr. John Bankes," who was instructed to inform Colve how tender Connecticut was of the "effusion of Christian blood," yet how interested for her "dear neighbours, his Majestie's good subjects" on Long Island. Surprised at the insolent tone of this letter, Colve arrested its bearer, and replied to Winthrop that he could not believe such an "impertinent and absurd writing" came from him. Winthrop, in answer, complained of Bankes's detention at New Orange, and declared that the letter he bore contained "very pertinent and needful premonitions for the preventing a confluence of evil consequences."†

26 October.
5 Novem.
Colve's an-
swer.

Winthrop's
reply.

Unappalled by this peculiar rhetoric, Colve denied the right of Connecticut to question his proceedings on Long Island, where the people would have peaceably taken the oaths to the Dutch "had not some evil-disposed persons gone from you and dissuaded them." He was in New Netherland, he added, "to maintain the right of their High Mightinesses and his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange;" and he would do it. The Dutch had always treated their enemies more humanely than the English, who had so barbarously used the "poor fishermen and farmers" on the island of Ter-Schelling. On his return to Hartford with this letter, Bankes reported that Colve was "a man of resolute spirit and passionate, that manageth the affaires now under his power so as is not satisfactory to the people nor soldiers; and that he is in expectation of strength from foreign parts, upon whose arrival he seems to be resolved to subdue under his obedience what he can, not only on the island, but he sayth he knowes not but he may have Hartford ere long."‡

8 Novem.
Colve's
pungent
retort.

Report of
Bankes
about
Colve and
New Neth-
erland.

* Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 212-216, 563, 564; Col. Doc., ii., 656; Col. MSS., xxiii., 231; Wood's Long Island, 96; Palfrey, iii., 121, 122.

† Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 216, 564, 565; Col. Doc., ii., 651, 652, 660.

‡ Col. Doc., ii., 660, 661; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 567; *ante*, 125. On the 13th of May, 1673.

After a boisterous voyage through the Sound, Colve's commissioners meanwhile met, near Plum Gut, the vessel conveying Willys and Winthrop to Long Island, which struck its colors to the Dutch. The Connecticut officers, on coming on board and producing their commissions, were courteously treated, and the Dutch, on their side, showed them their own papers. Both parties then landed on Long Island, Steenwyck and his colleagues spending the night with Sylvester. The next morning the commissioners on both sides rowed up to Southold. A large force was in arms. Steenwyck desired the inhabitants to be summoned; but the Connecticut officers urged the people to remain faithful to the King of England. Upon this, Moore, who had been named a magistrate of Southold, declined the Dutch appointment; and Arnold, although already sworn as schout, declared that he had resigned his office, because his neighbors threatened to plunder his house. Seeing that they could now do nothing at Southold, Colve's commissioners left the village, intending to go to Southampton. But, finding that they would "be unable to effect any thing, and rather do more harm than good," they came back to New Orange with an unsatisfactory report.*

On the return of Willys and Winthrop, Connecticut, considering the condition of her "dear countrymen upon Long Island, their further motion for assistance, and the late attempts of their enemy the Dutch upon them," determined to send them help; and commissioned Captain Fitz John Winthrop "to be sergeant major over the military forces of his majesty's subjects on Long Island." Accordingly, adventurers were raised at Stonington and New London, and hurried across the Sound to Southold.†

Meanwhile "the Dutch interest" in New Netherland was hoping that Van Ruyven would do much for them in the fatherland. But Van Ruyven returned unexpectedly to New Orange, reporting that the snow "Expectatie," in which he embarked, had been wrecked near Nantucket. Ewoutsen was dispatched thither with the Zeehond, to bring back the disabled vessel, but not to damage any New En-

CHAP. V.

1673.

21 October.

6 Novem.

New Netherland commissioners at Southold.

23 October.

1 Novem.

Foiled by the Connecticut commissioners.

30 October.

9 Novem.

Return to New Orange.

13 Novem.

Connecticut forces sent to Southold.

Van Ruyven, shipwrecked, returns to New Orange.

13 Novem. Ewoutsen sent to Nantucket.

the Connecticut General Court granted Bankes "forty shillings towards his expenses, when he was detained in Yorke, in the year seventy three." Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 253.

* Cf. i. Doc., ii., 654-655; Wood, 97; Thompson, i., 155; Palfrey, iii., 124; ante, 217, 218.

† Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 59, 91; Palfrey, iii., 125; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 216.

CHAP. V. gland craft, unless the Expectatie had been captured; in which case he was to take or destroy all English vessels,

1673. "whencesoever they may be." Ewontsen reported that the Expectatie had been taken by an English privateer, commanded by Joseph Dudson, and carried to Boston; and that, according to his orders, he had brought into New Orange four New England trading ketches. These vessels were detained "provisionally under arrest," and their mas-

15 Novem.
New En-
gland ves-
sels cap-
tured.

27 Novem. ters were sent to Rhode Island with a letter from Colve to Leverett, asking that the crew of the Expectatie might be allowed to return unmolested from Boston. Upon further consideration, the New England prizes were confiscated as belonging to "subjects of England actually in open war against our state."*

Condem-
ed.
30 Novem.

25 Novem.
5 Decem.
Threats of
Massachu-
setts.

3, Decem.
13, Decem.
Colve's re-
ply.

These spirited Dutch reprisals waked up New England. Massachusetts demanded the release of its coasters, and threatened, otherwise, "a full reparation by force of arms." Colve replied that Massachusetts had seized a Dutch vessel and carried it to Boston, before any thing had been done by New Netherland to her prejudice; and that, in future, Massachusetts should employ as messengers "honorable people, and no spies."†

21 Novem.
1 Decem.

Connecticut now proposed to Massachusetts a "preventive expedition" against New Netherland, offering a "proportionable conjunction and compliance." Massachusetts

10 Decem.

determined "that God doth call them to do something in a hostile way for their own defence," fitted out a ship and a ketch, and impressed soldiers. But, as Dudson had seized the Dutch vessel at Nantucket, which was "without the jurisdiction of this court," and had acted under a letter of marque from the king, and not from Massachusetts, it was thought "not convenient to proceed to a judication" of the

Action of
Connecti-
cut and
Massachu-
setts.

17 Decem.

prize. Plymouth resolved that there was "just ground of a war," and that she should do her utmost against the Dutch in New Netherland. But Rhode Island, not belonging to the New England Confederation, took no action.‡

This state of war obliged Colve to adopt more severe measures toward strangers, especially English. Francis

* Col. Doc., ii., 523, 532, 653, 662, 663, 664; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 565; Mass. Rec., iv. (ii.), 573, 574; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 103; *ante*, 221. † Col. Doc., ii., 667, 668.

‡ Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 216-220, 553, 556; Mass. Rec., iv. (ii.), 572, 573, 574; Plymouth Rec., v., 135, 136; N. Y. Col. Doc., ii., 663; Palfrey, iii., 93, 122, 125; R. I. Rec., iii., 598-615.

Beado, an Englishman, had been convicted, on his own confession, of designing to burn the village of Fordham, and had been sentenced to be branded and banished from New Netherland for twenty-five years. In addition to the previous order of 11th September, a proclamation was now issued requiring all strangers who had not taken the oath of allegiance to leave the province at once, and forbidding all persons, not inhabitants and subjects, to come within the government without proper passports. The inhabitants were also forbidden to harbor such strangers, or hold any correspondence with the people of New England and all other actual enemies; and all letters to or from such persons were to be sent to the provincial secretary's office for examination.*

Colve also appointed Captain William Knyff, of the infantry in Fort Willem Hendrick, to be "Fiscal and Conservator of the Laws" in New Netherland. It was a revival of the office, held last by De Sille, under Stuyvesant; the duties of which were to promote the peace and prosperity of the province, maintain the jurisdiction of the home government, prosecute all offenders, and to take care "that good law and justice be administered, without respect of persons, in all courts of justice within this province, according to the laudable custom, laws, and ordinances of our Fatherland."†

Colve now visited Midwout, where he had invited the magistrates of the Dutch towns on Long Island to meet him. He informed them of the preparations making in New England, and recommended the towns to send grain to New Orange, repair thither whenever summoned, keep a good watch, and send horsemen occasionally to observe what was doing in the English towns. Steenwyck, Van Ruyven, and Van Brugh were directed to examine the houses in the city, and report what accommodation could be given to "outside people" seeking refuge from the enemy. The towns in Schout Lawrence's district, and Bergen, Haerlem, and Fordham, were also enjoined fidelity and vigilance.‡

* Col. Doc., ii., 635, 656; *ante*, 222.

† Col. Doc., ii., 658, 669; *ante*, vol. I., 164, 414, 532, 622.

‡ Col. Doc., ii., 669, 670, 672, 673. The burgomasters of the city, anxious for its safety, were alarmed that the frigate Surinam had left the harbor on the 2d of December, contrary to the promise of Everisen and Binckes, *ante*, 221, and, on calling on Colve, were informed that he could not and would not explain his reasons, but that "with or without the ship

CHAP. V.

1673.

23 Novem.

8 Decem.

Colve's

vigorous

police

measures.

12 Decem.

9 Decem.

Knyff fi.

cal of New

Nether-

land.

9 Decem.

Colve at

Flatbush,

or Mid-

wout.

12 Decem.

CHAP. V.

1673.
 12 Decem.
 New Or-
 ange regu-
 lations.

Van de Wa-
 ter town
 major.

Militia offi-
 cers.

The city fortifications being nearly completed, at "excessive expense, trouble, and labor of the burghery and inhabitants," regulations were made to secure the place. At sundown the gates were to be closed, and the burgher watch set; and no other person was to approach the batteries until sunrise. No one could enter or depart, except through the city gate, on pain of death. Jacobus van de Water was appointed town major of New Orange and auditor of its court-martial. The commissioned officers of the city militia were Captains Cornelis Steenwyck, Martin Kregier, Johannes van Brugh, and Ægidius Luyck, Lieutenants William Beekman, Jacob Kip, Christopher Hoogland, and Nicholas Bayard, and Ensigns Gabriel Minvielle, Stephanus van Cortlandt, and Gelyn Verplanck. They were thanked by the governor for the zeal they had shown in fortifying New Orange, and assured that the States General would not fail to "take the greatest interest in the preservation and prosperity of the city." But the event did not justify Colve's too ready words.*

1/3 Novem.
 Fasting
 and
 thanksgiv-
 ing days
 ordered.

Following the laudable practice of the fatherland, the governor issued a proclamation that, as the province was now blessed with "the free and pure worship of God," and other mercies, the first Wednesday in each month should be observed in New Netherland as "an universal day" of fasting, humiliation, and thanksgiving, on which all labor, gaming, or excess in drinking was strictly prohibited.†

6 Novem.
 Delaware
 affairs.

On the Delaware the Provincial Instruction was readily enforced by Schout Alrichs, and magistrates were established at the Hoarkill. Captain John Carr, who had gone to Maryland, was allowed to settle himself in New Netherland, if he took the oath of allegiance; but if he refused, his estate was to be seized. As several Marylanders had lately committed aggressions on the Delaware settlers, Colve invited the sufferers to New Orange, and directed all the inhabitants there to obey the orders of Alrichs.‡

aforesaid, he should not undertake nor execute any thing except what his Honor should consider serviceable and expedient for the fort, the city, and the burghery : " New Orange Rec. vii, 72; Val. Man., 1850, 522. The Surinam was back again in harbor in January, 1674: Col. Dec., ii., 682.

* Col. Dec., ii., 670, 671, 674, 675, 677, 678; Val. Man., 1850, 523. Moulton, 7, 8, 11, 12, 21, mistakes the office of Van de Water for mayor, instead of major, of New Orange. The muster-roll of Captain Steenwyck's company, of which Bayard was Lieutenant and Minvielle ensign, is in Val. Man., 1850, 424, 425.

† Col. Dec., ii., 658; Val. Man., 1850, 521.

‡ Col. Dec., ii., 597, 622, 632, 659, 663, 672, 675, 678; Col. Mss., xxiv., 97; S. Hazard, 409, 410.

In Achter Col, or New Jersey, Colve's instruction was cheerfully obeyed. Bergen enacted some local regulations. At an assembly called by Schout Ogden at Elizabethtown, several ordinances were adopted, much milder than the English laws. Before approving them, Colve had them translated into the Dutch language. Weary of their distractions under the government of Berkeley and Carteret, the people of New Jersey welcomed the regained authority of the Republican Netherlands.*

CHAP. V.

1673.

13 Oct.
Achter Col,
or New Jer-
sey.
16 Novem.

The Esopus officers were confirmed by the governor; among whom were Cornelis Wynkoop, Roeloff Kierstede, Wessel Tenbroeck, and Jan Burhans, of Swanenburg, or Kingston; and Louis du Bois, Roeloff Hendriksen, Jan Joosten, and Jan Broersen, of Hurley and Marbletown; and Captain Albert Heymans, who had been prominent in the riot of 1667. William la Montagne was made secretary of the three towns, and Isaac Grevenraet their schout, in place of William Beekman, who had removed to New Orange. Two brass guns, useless at Swanenburg, were ordered to be sent down to the metropolis, "as the same are required here."†

6 October.
Esopus af-
fairs.

15 Oct.

Schenectady was made subordinate to Willemstadt; and Anthonia van Curler was allowed an extension of the privilege which had been granted by Lovelace. As New France was now hostile to New Netherland, Commander Draeyer was directed to "stop all correspondence with the Jesuit, and Frenchmen from Canada, whether runaways or others." He was again instructed to observe all military precautions at Fort Nassau; not to confide in any French from Canada; and "to break off all correspondence with the Jesuit, but to excuse himself in a courteous manner."‡

27 October
8 Novem.
Willem-
stadt and
Schenecta-
dy.

16 Novem.

17 Novem.
Draeyer's
orders.

The Jesuit missionaries had meanwhile been active among the Iroquois. Bruyas, at Tionnontoguen, or Saint Mary's, and Boniface, at Caghnawaga, or Saint Peter's, labored among the Mohawks. Although the smallest of the Iroquois villages, Caghnawaga was esteemed by the Jesuits, like ancient Judah by the Israelites, as the greatest of all their stations. Prayer was offered there as constantly

Bruyas and
Boniface
among the
Mohawks.

* Col. Doc., II., 621, 633, 643, 658, 683, 706, 714, 726; Whitehead, 61, 62.

† Col. Doc., II., 622, 626, 627, 629, 630, 644, 646, 649, 650; Esopus Records; Warr., Ord., Essex, III., 147; ante, 123, 157, 218.

‡ Col. Doc., II., 652, 653, 654, 659, 662, 675; Council Minutes, III., 120; ante, 218, 224.

CHAP. V. "as in the best regulated families of France." Yet, while
 1673. zealous Mohawk converts paraded their chaplets in the Dutch church at Albany, the Jesuit missionaries mistrusted their frequent visits to the "heretics," and lamented their "wretched peace" with the Mahicans, which, by making the paths safe, enabled the Iroquois to get brandy to their hearts' content. The most interesting incident was the departure of a number of Mohawks to the mission at the Prairie de la Madeleine, near Montreal. This settlement had received its first Iroquois accessions from Oneida, whose chief, Garonhiague, or "*La cendre chaude*," became a catechist. While on a visit there, Kryn, or "the Great Mohawk," had become converted by Frémin; and, on his return to Caghawaga, so moved the village that forty Mohawks, with their squaws and children, went back with him to the Prairie. Their brethren at Tionnontoguen, "who were not yet disposed to embrace the faith," complained to Bruyas of the "black robes, who seemed to wish to make their country a desert and ruin their villages." The health of Boniface, however, soon failed; and he returned to Quebec to die—conducting "a great party" of converts, and leaving Bruyas alone, in charge of both the Mohawk stations. The intervals of missionary labor were employed by the Iroquois superior in preparing his immortal dictionary of the Indian tongue.*

Emigra-
tion to Can-
ada from
New York.

12 June.

Millet at
Oneida.

Millet became so popular at Oneida that he persuaded many proselytes to renounce the invocation of Agreskoué. But he was much embarrassed by the efforts of the Hollanders against the Jesuits, "since they had retaken Manhattan and Orange, and driven out the English." In an interesting letter to Dablon, at Quebec, Millet described an eclipse of the moon on the 21st of January, 1674, which he had foretold, much to the amazement of the savages.†

Lambert-
ville at
Onondaga.

At Onondaga, John de Lamberville was cheered by some new converts. But his flock was diminished by several

* Relation, 1672-3, 33-55; 1673-9, 140, 142, 143-151, 175, 177; Douniol's Miss. Can., i., 4-21, 179-189, 235-239, 279-293, 345, 346; ii., 10; Shea, 269-272, 293, 299; Charlevoix, ii., 257, 257, 354, 357; Col. Doc., ix., 352, 474; ante, 190-192. I find no authority for the statement in the note in Col. Doc., ix., 720 (repeated in N. Y. Senate Doc., 115, April 16, 1863), that Bruyas was among the Senecas in 1673. He certainly wrote from Tionnontoguen, by Boniface, to Frontenac, on 12th June of that year: Col. Doc., ix., 792; Douniol, i., 245.

† Relation, 1672-3, 55-65; 1673-9, 140; Douniol, i., 22-30, 175-177, 239-256; Charlevoix, ii., 253; Shea, 276, 282; ante, 178, 181, 191.

proselytes from their native "Babylon," who went to live at the more attractive Prairie de la Madeleine. Carheil, at Cayuga, had little to break the monotony of his station except the baptism of three Andaste prisoners before they were burned by their Iroquois conquerors.*

CHAP. V.

1673.

Carheil at Cayuga.

Among the Senecas, Garnier had charge of Saint Michael and Saint James, while Raffeix labored at Conception. Wanting assistance, the lonely Jesuits applied to Dablon, and Pierron was sent to their aid, who took care of Saint James. After leaving the Mohawks in 1671, Pierron returned to Quebec, and from there went to Acadia, where he spent the winter of 1673. Thence he wandered over New England, Maryland, and Virginia, finding nothing "but desolation and abomination among those heretics." At Boston he was "much esteemed," although suspected of Jesuitism, because of "the uncommon knowledge which he exhibited." Pierron offered to establish a mission among the Maryland savages, "whose language he knew." But Dablon, scrupulous not to allow a Canadian missionary to interfere with the "English Fathers" in Maryland, ordered Pierron to assist Garnier and Raffeix among the Senecas.†

Garnier and Raffeix at the Senecas.

Pierron in Acadia, New England, and Maryland.

Among the Senecas.

During the winter the Jesuit missionaries had reported to Frontenac that the Iroquois were not well disposed toward the French. The new Onnontio therefore resolved to make a pompous visit to Lake Ontario, and impress the savages with the power of Canada. He built two bateaux similar to that of Courcelles, but of a peculiar model, each carrying sixteen men with their provisions, and each mounted with small cannon, and painted "in a fashion unlike any thing seen before in the whole country."‡

Frontenac's visit to Lake Ontario.

To disarm the suspicions of the Iroquois, Frontenac dispatched La Salle, who was well acquainted with them, and had just returned from the West, to invite the five nations to meet him at Quinté Bay toward the end of June. On his way from Quebec to Montreal, as he was passing the Cap de la Madeleine, the governor is stated to have met

24 Mar.
3 June.

* Relation, 1672-3, 65-108; 1673-9, 143-146, 152; Douniol, I, 30-62, 256-263, 247; II, 11; Shea, 283, 290.

† Relation, 1672-3, 103-114; 1673-9, 140; Douniol, I, 63-68, 268-273; II, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 44; Shea, 268, 292; ante, 178, 192.

‡ C. L. Don., ix., 91, 95, 96; Faillon, III., 456-470; ante, 180, 193.

CHAP. V. Dablon, the superior of the Jesuits, who informed him that he had learned from the Indians that some Dutch ships
 1673. had captured Manhattan; and that it was to be feared that they might blockade the Saint Lawrence, or even attack Quebec. But Frontenac, "seeing no foundation for this intelligence," continued his route, requesting Dablon not to divulge the news; at the same time taking precautions for the safety of Quebec and Tadoussac.*

12 June. Frontenac started from La Chine with one hundred and twenty canoes and four hundred men, and ascended the Saint Lawrence with "incredible labor," fifty men being required to drag each heavy bateau up the rapids. On his way he saw "the most delightful country in the world."

29 June. At length he arrived at "a point at the head of all the
 9 July. rapids," called "La Galette,"† which the Sieur la Valterie
 La Galette, or Prescott. had previously chosen for a magazine of provisions. Here the governor received letters from La Salle, informing him that two hundred leading Iroquois had gone to meet him at Quinté. This obliged him to send the Sulpitian Abbés Fénelon and D'Urfé thither, to ask them to come twenty leagues nearer, at Cataracouy, which he judged to be the best place for the establishment which Courcelles had proposed. Passing Otondiat and the "vast group of Islands with which the river is studded," Frontenac reached the opening of Lake Ontario, and arranged his flotilla in order
 12 July. of battle. Here he met D'Urfé, who had overtaken the Iroquois on their way to Quinté, and caused them to turn back. The French flotilla followed them "to the mouth of the River Cataracouy, into a bay about a cannon shot from the entrance, which forms one of the most beautiful and agreeable harbors in the world;" and Frontenac was

Frontenac
 at Cataracouy.

* Col. Doc., ix., 97, 98; *ante*, 179. This is a palpable anachronism. New York was recaptured by the Dutch on the 30th of July, or 9th of August, 1673 (*ante*, 208), which was eight or nine weeks after Dablon is said to have reported it to the governor at the Cap de la Madeleine! It seems that Frontenac got his first information in a letter from Lamber ville, dated at Oswego, on the 30th of August, or 9th of September, 1673, and dispatched by La Salle, who, he states, was "in haste to depart, to carry the news of the reconquest of Manhattan and Orange by the Hollanders, and of the current rumour that they have twenty ships of war about to sail for Quebec." Douniol, i., 347, 348; *post*, 239, 240.

† "La Galette" (the meaning of which French word is a flat cake, familiar to Parisians) seems to have been what is now called Wind-mill Point, a little below Prescott, in Canada West, the scene of one of the "patriot" movements in 1838: compare Col. Doc., ix., 77, 101, 114, 135, 241, 381; Charlevoix, v., 281-286, and Map; Gent. Mag., xxvii., 74, Map; Hough's Saint Lawrence, 41, 46; Barber and Howe's N. Y. Coll., 4-8. The name, however, was afterwards transferred to Fort Presentation at Oswegatchie or Ogdenburg: see Smith, i., 60, *note*; Col. Doc., vii., 136, 573; x., 349; Doc. Hist., i., 281, and Sauthier's Map annexed.

"enraptured at finding a spot so well adapted for his design."* CHAP. V.

The next day Frontenac received the Iroquois with great pomp in front of his tent, called them his "children," and named a day for solemn conference. In the mean time the Sieur Rendin traced out a fort, and the troops worked at it with good will. At the appointed time Frontenac told the Five Nations that the Jesuits labored only to teach them, and should be respected; that Onnontio had proved his power by coming up all the rapids with bateaux carrying cannon; that he now ratified the treaties made by his predecessors; and he urged his "children" to let their youth learn the French tongue, promising to communicate with them either through the missionaries, or by some "person of character" like La Salle. The Iroquois "appeared highly gratified that Onnontio had, at the first and second audience, addressed them as Children, and thereby had bound himself to act towards them as a Father; the other Onnontios not having made use of that mark of authority, and they having never consented to be addressed otherwise than as Brothers." They expressed their joy at the establishment of a French fort at Cataraugou; yet they lamented the conquests of the French in Holland, and the ruin of the Dutch, who "had been friendly with them."† At the same time, they wished Frontenac to assist them against the Andastes, "the sole enemies remaining on their hands." This, however, the governor waived; and the Five Nations promised to consider his proposition in regard to their children learning French.

The fort was soon completed; and, after settling its garrison, Frontenac returned to Montreal, delighted that he had accomplished his enterprise without any accident, and by the resources of Canada alone, without any aid from the court. Not long afterward La Salle came back from Oswego with a letter from Lamberville, reporting the re-

1673.

23 July.

Fort traced out.

27 July.

Conference with the Iroquois.

The Iroquois called "children."

8 July
Joy of the Iroquois.22 July.
1 August.20 August.
9 Septem.

* Col. Doc., ix., 91, 98-103, 792; x., 349; Douniel, i., 172, 240, 250, 343; Charlevoix, ii., 26; *Ann.*, 180, 193. The admirable situation of Kingston, in Canada West, well deserves the praise bestowed by its founder, Frontenac. But in 1703, D'Aigremont reported to Pontchartrain that La Galette would be a much better place for the fort than Frontenac: Col. Doc., ix., 822; and Charlevoix adopted this opinion when he visited Cataraugou in 1721: Charlevoix, v., 281, 282.

† Col. Doc., ix., 110. It is clear from this that Frontenac could not yet have heard the news of the recapture of New York by the Dutch, referred to on the previous page.

CHAP. V. capture of New York by the Dutch, and their proposed attack of Quebec. La Salle was immediately appointed governor of "Fort Frontenac," at Cataracouy, an interesting detail of the establishment of which was sent to Colbert.*

1673.
La Salle
governor
of "Fort
Fronte-
nac."
13 Novem.

In his letters home, Frontenac dwelt upon the intermeddling of the Jesuits with the Recollets. Colbert, in reply, instructed him to form towns and villages in Canada, rather than prosecute distant discoveries, unless they

1674.
7 May. should open a nearer way to France than through the Saint Lawrence. At the same time, he expressed surprise

Population
of Canada.
4 Novem.

that the population of Canada was only six thousand seven hundred souls.† Frontenac answered that his expedition to Lake Ontario had made the Iroquois friendly, and insured the safety of the Jesuit missionaries among them. But the only way to build up Canada was to follow the example of her neighbors at Manhattan and Orange. The Jesuits only endeavored "to instruct the Indians, or rather to get beavers, and not to be parish priests to the French." But the Franciscans or Recollets, who, under the Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, were now transferred from Quinté to Cataracouy, were laboring with great zeal, and, if more numerous, "would assuredly do wonders in the missions."‡

The Recol-
lets at Ca-
taracouy.

In the mean time the exploration of the Mississippi had been partially accomplished. After spending the winter at Mackinaw, Jolliet and Marquette left Green Bay in

1673. June, 1673, ascended the Fox River, crossed the portage to the Wisconsin, down which they drifted in their birch canoes until they reached the Great River, which the father called "the Conception," while his fellow-adventurer

7 June.
Jolliet and
Marquette
explore the
Upper Mis-
sissippi.

wished to name it "the Colbert." Following its current, they passed the mouth of the muddy "Pekitanoui," or Missouri, and then that of the limpid "Ohio," which Bruyas—who literally translated its Mohawk name—called "The Beautiful River." Having reached the mouth of

* Col. Doc., ix., 103-114, 122, 211, 792; Quebec MSS., ii. (ii.), 291; Douniol, i., 347, 348; Garneau, i., 112; Hennepin's Louisiana, 3, 6; Shen, 283; Discovery of the Mississippi, xxxiv.

† Col. Doc., ix., 88, 95, 115, 116, 792; Quebec MSS., ii. (ii.), 291; *ante*, vol. i., 67. The population of New Netherland at this time was estimated to be from six to seven thousand, and that of New England about one hundred and twenty thousand: Col. Doc., ii., 526, 598; Chalmers, i., 434.

‡ Col. Doc., ix., 95, 129, 121, 793; Quebec MSS., ii. (ii.), 57; Charlevoix, ii., 257; Sparks's La Salle, 16; Shen's Mission, 413; Discovery of the Mississippi, 85, 89, 159; *ante*, 142, 162, 170, 194.

the Arkansas, and satisfied themselves that the Mississippi emptied into the Gulf of Mexico, the explorers returned by way of the Illinois River to Chicago, and thence to Green Bay, having traveled nearly three thousand miles. Leaving Marquette at Green Bay, Jolliet went homeward as far as Mackinaw, accompanied by a young savage, who had been given him by the chief of the Illinois, and spent the winter there. Early the next spring he came down to Fort Frontenac, where he communicated his discoveries to La Salle, who was in command of the post. In descending the Saint Lawrence, Jolliet safely passed all the rapids until he reached the Sault Saint Louis, just above Montreal, where his canoe was overturned, all his papers lost, his young Illinois companion drowned, and his own life barely saved after a four hours' struggle with the waters.

Nevertheless, Jolliet was able to prepare from memory a map and a narrative of his marvelous journey. From these materials Dablon compiled a "Relation," which he dispatched to the superior general of the Jesuits at Paris. Not long afterward Jolliet was rewarded by a grant of the island of Anticosti. By the Ottawa flotilla Dablon received copies of Marquette's journal and map, which he forwarded to France. Frontenac also sent to Colbert the map and narrative of Jolliet, who had discovered an inland navigation from Lake Ontario to the Gulf of Mexico, with only a short portage; and therefore he suggested that a French settlement should be made at Niagara, and a bark be built on Lake Erie. This idea was no doubt originated by La Salle, who had seen Jolliet at Cataracouy, fresh from his Mississippi voyage, and who was now out of employment. La Salle therefore resolved to return to France to plead his own cause with the king; and Frontenac cheerfully recommended him as "the most capable for all the enterprises of discovery."*

CHAP. V.

1673.

17 July.

Septem.

1674.

July.

Jolliet's
map and
narrative.
22 July.
1 August.Mar-
quette's
journal
and map.
31 Novem.
Frontenac
recom-
mends a
French
post at Ni-
agara.La Salle re-
turns to
France.

* Col. Doc., vi., 532, 545, 610; ix., 118, 119, 121, 122, 211, 216, 383, 668, 706, 787, 793, 886; Quebec MSS., ii. (ii.), 57; La Potherie, ii., 131; Douville's *Mss. Can.*, i., 193-204; ii., 5, 6, 241-250; Faillon, iii., 312-315, 472; Charlevoix, ii., 248-250; Hist. Mag., v., 237-239; Hennepin's *Louisiana*, 6, 13; New Discovery, 303-306; Sparks's *La Salle and Marquette*; Bancroft, iii., 135-161; Garneau, i., 232-237; Shea's *Disc. of the Mississippi*, xxvii.-xxviii., lxxx., lxxv., 4-52, 83, 84; and *Catholic Missions*, 405, 406, 435-437; *ante*, 163, 194. The copy of Marquette's Journal which Dablon sent to Paris was published by Thévénot, with amendments, in 1681. An English translation was issued in 1698, annexed to Hennepin's "New Discovery," 206-249; and another in Dutch is contained in vol. xxviii. of Van der Aa's collection of 1707. Another copy of Marquette's Journal was prepared for publication

CHAP. V.

1674.

15 Jan.
New Or-
ange af-
fairs.

16 Jan.

1 Febr'y.

19 Febr'y.
Tax for the
city fortifi-
cations.

17 March.

24 March.

13 March.

16 March.
Military
precau-
tions.

While the dominion of France was thus indefinitely extended by her adventurous sons over the interior of North America, that of Holland over a modest space of its seaboard was firmly maintained by her patriotic children.

The metropolis of New Netherland was brought more directly under the governor's authority by a "Provisional Instruction," which, among other things, authorized the Fiscal Knyff to preside over the court of Schout, Burgomasters, and Schepens. The city magistrates rebelled at this; but, upon Colve's threat to dismiss them and convoke the burghers to nominate others, they yielded, under a protest.*

To provide for the "excessive expenses" of the city fortifications, Colve levied a tax on the estate of each citizen of New Orange worth over one thousand guilders. Commissioners were accordingly appointed, and lists made out of the property of "the most affluent inhabitants;" which amounted to upwards of five hundred and twenty thousand guilders. But as it would take time to collect this tax, each burgher assessed more than four thousand guilders was ordered to "advance, by way of loan," the hundredth penny of his capital, "for such is deemed to be necessary for the public good." Of this forced loan Major Jacobus van de Water was appointed receiver.†

The city of New Orange being now "capable (under God) of resisting all attacks of any enemies," the "out people" of the neighboring villages were directed to hasten there with proper arms on the first notice of the coming of any hostile ships. The citizens were also forbidden to leave town without the consent of their magistrates. The sloops sailing up the North River to Esopus and Willemstadt, and to the Delaware, were required to go in rota-

by Dablon, which, however, was long buried, along with the original map, in the archives of the Jesuit College at Quebec. In 1844 they came into the hands of Father Felix Martin, by whom they were intrusted to Mr. John G. Shea, who published a fac-simile of the map and a translation of the Journal in 1853. The originals were privately printed, with great elegance, in 1855, by Mr. James Lenox. They were also reprinted at Paris in 1861, by Deunol, in his "Mission du Canada," ii., 241-331. Copies of Jolliet's map and letter to Frontenac, made from the originals at Paris, are in the Library of the Canadian Parliament at Quebec; see Catalogue (ed. 1858), p. 1615. Henri Martin, i., 491, insists that La Salle discovered the Mississippi before Jolliet and Marquette; compare Garneau, i., 236, note; and Douniol, ii., 375; Faillon, iii., 313.

* Col. Doc., ii., 678-681; Val. Man., 1850, 523-527; ante, 212, 226, 232.

† Col. Doc., ii., 688, 688, 687, 699, 700, 701; Val. Man., 1850, 525, 530; 1851, 435; Mont- ton, 14, 15, 16; Valentine's N. York, 319-330; ante, p. 234. The rate list is in Col. Doc., ii., 699, 700.

tion, so as not to weaken the capital. In case an enemy should arrive, all vessels were to haul behind the frigate Surinam, "near the circular battery."*

The towns on Long Island, with Bergen and Haerlem, were also directed to send each a militia officer and magistrate to a Convention in New Orange. Francis Bloodgood, one of the schepens of Flushing, was at the same time appointed "chief officer" of the Dutch people of Flushing, Heemstede, Jamaica, and Newtown, and charged with their military police. The Convention met accordingly, and every precaution was taken to provide sufficient defense for the capital in case it should be attacked.†

The governor's attention had meanwhile been drawn to affairs at the eastern end of Long Island. Provisions being needed at the fort, Ewoutsen was ordered to receive them at Shelter Island from Sylvester, whose bond was now due. Some soldiers were sent along, in hope that the refractory towns might be reduced to subjection. Meanwhile Fitz John Winthrop had reached Southold with his Connecticut auxiliaries. On learning the approach of Colve's expedition, forces were hurried from Southampton and Easthampton; and it was determined not to hinder the Dutch from obtaining what they wanted at Shelter Island, but only to defend Southold. Sylvester promptly delivered his stipulated provisions to Ewoutsen. The next morning the Dutch flotilla ranged itself before Southold, and Sylvester was sent to demand the surrender of the English, who were promised the same privileges with other towns in New Netherland, but were threatened, in case of their refusal, "with fire and sword." He was answered that the Dutch commander would be received "as a person that disturbs His Majesty's subjects." Ewoutsen now ordered his boats to land, and a gun to be fired from his snow, the Zeehond, which did no harm. The fire was returned without effect. As the English were evidently too overpowering, it was thought absurd to attempt any thing farther; and the Dutch flotilla quietly returned to New Orange with the provisions for which it had come to Shelter Island safely on board.‡

CHAP. V.

1674.

27 March.

22 March.

Convention at New

Orange.

26 March.

Feb'y.

Dutch ex-

pedition to

Shelter Is-

land.

23 Feb'y.

5 March.

24 Feb'y.

6 March.

Attempt to

land at

Southold

repulsed.

* Col. Doc., ii., 695, 696, 697, 702; Val. Man., 1850, 506, 537; 1851, 423, 449, 441; Moulton, 12; Wood, 97; Thompson, i., 156.

† Col. Doc., ii., 103, 591, 701, 702; ante, 215.

‡ Col. Doc., ii., 588-590; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 91-94; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 560, 567; Wood,

CHAP. V.

1674.

⁹
1st March.
Connecticut.⁸
1st March.
Massachusetts.¹¹
2nd March.²⁴
March.²⁶
March.¹⁵
April.²
May.
English colonial property confiscated.²⁶
May.

1673.

¹⁴
Oct.

Winthrop's conduct at Southold was applauded by Connecticut, which directed him to continue "to assist and defend the people there 'till at least these present motions of the Dutch be over." Application was also made to Massachusetts for a man-of-war "to cleare the coasts." But Governor Leverett replied that "the generall voague of the averseness of the people to ingage in any acts of hostility against the Dutch, occasions retardment of comeing to any conclusion tending thereto." The General Court, however, "after much and serious consideration of the condition of these colonies," resolved to send out a vessel or two "to repress the insolence of the Dutch in the Sound, who are, with an inconsiderable force there, triumphing to the amazement and affrightment of our friends." Connecticut was advised of this determination; but no cruisers appear to have been dispatched from Boston.*

It was now rumored that the King of England was about to retake New Netherland. Some vessels having arrived at Sandy Hook, Ewoutsen was dispatched to learn what they were, but "not to imperil his snow." Soon afterward it was reported that peace had been made between Holland and England. Nevertheless, the property of inhabitants of New England, Virginia, and Maryland found within New Netherland, which had been excepted, was now confiscated. The Zeehond was also ordered to cruise in Long Island Sound, where Ewoutsen captured two Massachusetts craft, and in Narragansett Bay a Plymouth sloop. The prizes were brought to New Orange and condemned. But this was the last act of hostility between the Dutch and English colonies in North America.†

The first intelligence of the reconquest of New York came to Holland by way of England. Michielsens, who had been sent home with dispatches from Binckes, was

9. 97; Thompson, I, 155, 367, 368; Trumbull, i, 324, 325; Palfrey, iii, 125, 126; *ante*, 217, 231. The Dutch Records (Col. Doc., ii, 688-707) do not mention this expedition, of which the reducing the towns at the east end of Long Island seems to have been "the chiefe part of their errand;" Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 99, 100.

* Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 95-98; Mass. Rec., iv. (ii.), 576, 577; Palfrey, iii., 122, 126; *ante*, 229, 232. The vessels ordered by Massachusetts for service in the Sound were the "Swallow," of 12 guns, Captain Richard Sprague, and the "Salisbury," of 8 guns, Captain Samuel Moseley; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 100-102, 104.

† Col. Doc., ii., 611, 707, 710, 715, 716, 719, 725, 726, 727; iii., 208-212; Col. MSS., xxiii., 325; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 99, 104, 107; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 222; Moulton, 13; Palfrey, iii., 127; *ante*, 223.

captured off Beachy Head, and threw them overboard to prevent their being read by the English. The States General deliberated "what further ought to be done for the protection and preservation of the Colony of New Netherland." Upon the petition of merchants interested in the colonial trade, the secret committee on foreign affairs was directed "to dispose of the matter as they shall think proper." Six weeks afterward, on the receipt of dispatches from Binckes, the States General resolved "that the superintendence of New Netherland, and whatsoever appertains thereto, shall be committed, as it is hereby committed, provisionally and until further order, to the Board of Admiralty at Amsterdam; Ordering and commanding the inhabitants of New Netherland aforesaid, and the military who shall be sent thither, absolutely, and without any reserve, to obey the orders which will be issued by or on behalf of the said Board, in their High Mightinesses' name:—That by Commission of their High Mightinesses, a proper person shall be sent thither, with the title of Governor or Commander, in order to clothe him with greater respect:—That the aforesaid Governor or Commander shall be chief and Supreme Ruler, both in civil and in military affairs; and that he shall by the aforesaid Commission, be instructed to obey the orders of said Board of Admiralty at Amsterdam:—That JORIS ANDRINGA, actually Secretary of the Provincial fleet, shall be appointed and commissioned to said government or command, and that the necessary commission shall be expedited to him:—That the Captain and officers of the Companies to be sent thither shall be given in charge, as they are hereby enjoined, precisely and punctually, to obey all orders that will be given them by said Board of Admiralty at Amsterdam."*

By this action of the States General a regular government was established over New Netherland, and Joris Andringa took his place in her annals as the successor of Anthony Colve. The Amsterdam Board of Admiralty, after considering Binckes's dispatches, determined that, as the entire province had been surrendered at discretion, all the

CHAP. V.

1673.

15 Oct.
News of the
reconquest
of New
Netherland
in Holland.
20 Oct.
Action of
the States
General.

15 Decem.

Joris Andringa appointed
governor of
New Netherland.

1674.

19 Jan'y
Further ac-
tion in Hol-
land.

* Col. Doc., II., 527-531; Sylvius, ix., 660, 665; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 103; *ante*, 213. Joris is the Dutch for George. Andringa had formerly been secretary to De Ruyter, and had written interesting accounts of the battle of June, 1666, and of the Chatham expedition of June, 1667: Basnage, i., 781, 805; *ante*, 124, 134.

CHAP. V. property of the Duke of York, or his officers, was good prize, and should be applied to the benefit of the state; and that the governor of New Netherland should be authorized to "maintain some neutrality" with the English colonies north and south of him, and even to make a treaty of commerce with them. These points were approved by the Prince of Orange and the States General, and were ordered to be carried into effect by "Joris Andringa, Governor of New Netherland aforesaid."*

31 Jan'y.

Extraordinary vicissitudes in New York history.

Holland hopes to retain New Netherland.

Extraordinary vicissitudes have always marked the colonial life of New York. Another epoch appeared to be now opening in her history; and many in her Dutch fatherland looked forward to the establishment of their nation's power over the most important region in North America. That region, they knew, had formerly languished under the selfish rule of the West India Company. Now they hoped it would flourish as the rose under the more genial administration of the Dutch Republic itself. Midway between the Royalist and the Puritan colonies of England might grow up a valiant empire, to teach the world sublime lessons in civil liberty, religious freedom, and patriotic endurance. The descendants of the men who had first proclaimed the doctrine of "taxation only by consent;" who had banished the Inquisition, and established in its place liberty of conscience; and who were even now breasting the ruthless cohorts of France, could maintain and extend in the Columbian world the principles and the virtues which distinguished the grandest "United" nation in Christendom. Instead of emigrating to Batavia, the children of Holland might follow the sun toward the west, and on the great "River of the Mountains" which their fatherland had discovered, could build up "the Exchange of a wealthier Amsterdam, and the schools of a more learned Leyden."†

1673. But these things were not to be. England must take the place of Holland in America. The Dutch Republic could not, single-handed, cope with France and Britain. Peace with the latter had become a necessity. William of Orange felt that, to secure the republic, Louis must be ef-

Providence decree: England to succeed Holland in America.

* Col. Doc., ii., 535-537; ante, 212, 223.

† Ante, vol. I., 224, 493, 436, 437, 441, 442, 447, 445, 746; ii., 204; Macaulay, i., 219.

factually crippled. Alliances against France and England were accordingly made between the United Provinces on the one hand, and the Emperor of Germany and the King of Spain on the other. Europe wondered at the extraordinary spectacle of the Roman Catholic dynasty which had employed Alva to crush the young Protestant Dutch Republic, now hastening to support it against both the powers which had watched the cradle of its independence. Spain, however, made it a condition that the Netherlands should consent to a peace with England, upon the basis of a mutual restoration of conquests, the yielding to her of the honor of the flag, and the payment of an indemnity for the expenses of the war. Political necessity alone could bend the States General to these hard terms. They yielded:—just two months before they knew the reconquest of New Netherland, and just one month after that event happened. Had they known it they would hardly have given up their American acquisition. But when the news reached them they were too deeply committed to recede. The day it came to the Hague they sent a trumpeter to Charles the Second, with a firm but conciliatory letter, which offered him every reasonable satisfaction.*

CHAP. V.

1673.

Alliance between Holland, Germany, and Spain.

20 August.
Conditions imposed by Spain.

Dutch necessity yields.

15 Oct.

This letter reached London just as the news came that the Dutch had reconquered New York. Memorials were quickly presented to the Plantation Council for the recovery of the province, where the Dutch, it was said, were about to send men-of-war and soldiers "to fortify themselves in those parts." William Dyer, of Rhode Island, urged that "New York, being the centre of His Majesty's western Dominions, and furnished with so excellent a harbour to secure shipping, also a pleasant town and beautiful country round about," should be retaken at once. For this purpose frigates and fire-ships should be sent to New England, where they could be manned; and a militia force from there could then besiege the town, while the vessels blockaded the harbor. Sir John Knight, of Bristol, which was at that time largely interested in colonial commerce, also explained to Lord Shaftesbury the defenseless condi-

News in London of the Dutch reconquest of New York.
22 October.
26 October.

Its recovery urged by Dyer and Knight.

22 October.

* Burnage, ii., 440, 441, 458-460; Selvius, ix., 632, 633, 654-658, 665, 684, 686; Col. Doc., ii., 529; Dumont, vii., 240-243; Davies, iii., 133, 134; Lingard, xii., 306, 318; Macaulay, ii., 181-185; Temple, ii., 250, 246; Martin's Louis XIV., i., 377; ante, 245.

CHAP. V. tion of Virginia, where the planters "doe generally desire
1673. a trade with the Dutch and all other nations," and coun-
seled the recovery of New York as the best means of pre-
serving "the rest of the plantations." The Council report-
ed to the king that New York was "the only fortified har-
bor in all the Northern Plantations of America," which, if
the Dutch were allowed to retain, would be ruinous to the
English. Virginia and Maryland would suffer the most;
but "the inhabitants of New England, being more intent
upon the advancement of their own private trade than the
publique interest of your Majesty's crowne and govern-
ment, may, if the Dutch continue a quiet possession there,
enter into commerce with them, whereby it is to be feared
they will at present divert a great part of the trade of En-
gland into those countries, and lay a foundation for such
an union hereafter, between them and Holland, as will be
very prejudiciall to all your Majesty's Plantations, if not
terrible to England itself." Its speedy reduction by an
overwhelming combined force was therefore recommend-
ed, as well as the removal of its Dutch colonists "farther
up into the country from the sea-side, at least as far as Al-
bany; their inhabiting the town of New York being a
great cause of the loss of both Town and castle now, and
as long as they shall stay there, there will be the like dan-
ger upon any occasion for the future."*

15 Novem.
Report of
Plantation
Council in
favor of re-
gaining
New York.

30 Septem.
Second
marriage
of the Duke
of York to
Mary of
Modena.

But never was the British government less able to act
with vigor. Charles was anxious to continue the war with
the Dutch. On the other hand, he desired the friendship
of Louis, their most determined foe. Through the influ-
ence of the French king, who gave the bride a splendid
dowry, the Duke of York had just been married to the
Roman Catholic Princess Mary of Modena, a niece of
Mazarin. James, who had been deprived of his English
offices only in the spring before, by the Test Act, was
doubly mortified at the loss of his American province, the
prompt regaining of which was even more important than
wedding festivities at Whitehall.†

Charles's treasury, however, was exhausted. It was dif-

* Col. Doc., III., 207-213; Hist. Mag., I. (II.), 299, 300; Index N. Y. Col. Doc., 5; Evelyn,
II., 55; Pepys, III., 464; Macaulay, I., 325; IV., 486; Valentine's N. Y., 233, 234; R. I. Col.
Rec., I., 266; II., 108, 396; Palfrey, II., 360, 555; III., 31; *ante*, vol. I., 557.

† Clarke's James II., I., 454, 455, 486; Martin's Louis XIV., I., 359; *ante*, 201.

fiuent for him to procure the ships and men necessary for an expedition against New Netherland. The war with the United Provinces had become very unpopular in England. Its real statesmen were disgusted with a strife in which the English and Dutch fleets had been made "gladiators for French spectators;" while its merchants were almost ruined by the privateers of Holland and Zealand, which had captured twenty-seven hundred British ships. Apprehending a change in the national religion, which the recent marriage of the presumptive heir to the crown rendered more probable than ever, Parliament saw with chagrin the league of Charles and Louis against the republic, which it regarded as the "Bulwark of the Reformation;" and it insisted that the king should break away from France, and make a separate treaty with the Netherlands. In vain did Charles and Shaftesbury demand a new subsidy. The House of Commons absolutely refused to grant any more supplies, "unless it shall appear that the obstinacy of the Dutch shall render it necessary; nor before this kingdom be effectually secured from the dangers of Popery and Popish Counsels and Counsellors, and the other present grievances be redressed."*

CHAP. V.

1673.

20 October.
Parliament
opposed to
war with
the Dutch.

27 October.
31 October.

In great displeasure, the king prorogued his fractious Parliament, and dismissed his versatile chancellor, Shaftesbury, who, up to this time, had been the most rhetorical enemy of the "Carthage" of England. In reply to the Dutch overture, Charles captiously questioned its sincerity. The States General repelled this imputation, and distinctly offered to renew the treaty made at Breda in 1667; adding that, "in order to manifest to your Majesty the special esteem which we entertain for your friendship, we hereby also offer the restitution of New Netherland, and of all the other places and colonies which we have won by our arms during the present war; being fully persuaded that your Majesty will be unwilling to refuse a reciprocal engagement to restore to us such lands and forts as your subjects may have taken from us."†

4 Novem.
Shaftes-
bury dis-
missed.

17 Novem.

3 Decem.
Offer of the
States Gen-
eral to re-
store New
Netherland
to England.

* Baenage, ii., 460, 461, 463; Sylvius, ix., 647, 687-689; Kennett, iii., 296; Burnet, i., 564; Rapin, ii., 672; Parl. Hist., iv., 585, 586, 593, 597, 602; Lingard, xii., 308; Davies, iii., 147; Clarke's James II., i., 485; Martin, i., 380, 381.

† Sylvius, ix., 690-692, 708, 709; Baenage, ii., 460, 463, 467; Col. Doc., ii., 520, 531; Parl. Hist., iv., 610; Campbell's Chancellors, iii., 320. One of the consequences of Shaftesbury's dismissal was Locke's resignation of his place as Secretary of the Council for Plantations.

CHAP. V.

1673.

¹⁰/₃₀ Decem.
Spanish
offers.

¹⁶/₂₆ Decem.

1674.

⁷/₇ Jan'y.

The House
of Com-
mons re-
fuse sup-
plies.

⁸/₁₆ Jan'y.

¹⁴/₄ Jan'y.

New Neth-
erland to
be restored
to England.

This offer to restore New Netherland to England—made only four days after the States General had appointed Andringa governor of their reconquered province—was extorted from the necessities of the republic, and its engagement with Spain. With the consent of the States General, the Spanish ambassador offered advantageous articles to the British government. Charles, finding that Louis refused him further supplies, and that he could not expect any from Parliament, replied that he was willing to accept reasonable conditions.*

But when Parliament met, a few days afterward, the king again charged the Dutch with insincerity, and begged for means to continue his war. Finch, who had succeeded Shaftesbury, harangued for a supply, which might save England from being found, "like Archimedes, drawing lines in the dust while the enemy is entering into our ports." But Finch's pedantry had no effect. The House of Commons would grant no money to Charles unless the Dutch should reject a peace.†

Negotiations, under the mediation of Sweden, had meanwhile been going on at Cologne. The Dutch plenipotentiaries there were instructed to explain the importance of New Netherland, which, "although it be their own domain," the States General were to relinquish to England. At this critical moment the king's speech to Parliament was received at the Hague. The States General refuted his charge of insincerity, and sent him the draft of a treaty which they were ready to sign. One of its articles, they explained, "demonstrates sufficiently to what a degree we wish to deserve your Majesty's affection; since we offer you the restitution of so considerable a conquest as New Netherland is, without the hope of receiving any thing in exchange for it." Nothing but the murder of John de Witt, and the paramount influence of William of Orange, could have brought the Dutch government to write this letter.‡

in which he was succeeded by Benjamin Worsley: King's Life of Locke, 34; Col. Doc., iii., 223; *ante*, 187, 201.

* Dalrymple, i., 137; Basnage, ii., 467, 468; Sylvius, ix., 709, 710; Col. Doc., ii., 531; *ante*, 245.

† Basnage, ii., 492-495; Sylvius, x., 4-12; Burnet, i., 365; Rapin, ii., 673, 674; Kennett, iii., 297; Parl. Hist., iv., 611-618.

‡ Sylvius, x., 12-14; Basnage, ii., 492; Col. Doc., ii., 532-535, 537, 538; Temple, ii., 246; 247; Clarke's James II., i., 439.

Charles instantly laid it before Parliament, and asked their "speedy advice." He was answered that he ought to make a treaty. Louis, apprehending the consequences of a separate peace between England and Holland, hastened to offer Charles five millions and a half of money and forty ships of war if he would break off his negotiations. The Duke of York strongly opposed a peace. But Charles could not now recede. Sir William Temple was summoned from his retirement, and instructed to confer with the Spanish ambassador at London, the Marquis del Fresno, to whom the States General had sent full powers. In three days all the points were arranged, and a treaty was signed at Westminster by Arlington and four other commissioners on the part of Great Britain, and by Fresno on the part of the United Netherlands. The honor of the flag, which had been refused by De Witt, was yielded to England; the Treaty of Breda was revived; the rights of neutrals guaranteed; and the commercial principles of the Triple Alliance renewed. By the sixth article it was covenanted that "all lands, islands, cities, havens, castles and fortresses, which have been or shall be taken by one party from the other, during the time of this last unhappy war, whether in Europe or elsewhere, and before the expiration of the times above limited for the duration of hostilities, shall be restored to the former Lord and Proprietor in the same condition they shall be in at the time that this peace shall be proclaimed." This article restored New Netherland to the King of Great Britain. The Treaty of Breda had ceded it to him on the principle of "*uti possidetis*." The Treaty of Westminster gave it back to him on the principle of reciprocal restitution.*

Peace was soon proclaimed at London and at the Hague. The Treaty of Westminster delivered the Dutch from fear of Charles, and cut off the right arm of Louis, their more dreaded foe. England, on her part, slipped out of a disastrous war. But Charles told Rouvigny, the ambassador of France, that in making peace with the Netherlands "he

CHAP. V.

1674.

24 Jan'y.

3 Feb'y.

15 Feb'y.

25 Feb'y.

Treaty

signed at

Westmin-

ster.

Restora-
tion of New
Netherland
to England.

28 Feb'y.

6 March.

Peace pro-

claimed be-

tween En-

gland and

Holland.

* Sylvius, x., 14-19; Basnage, ii., 496, 498; Temple, ii., 247-250; iv., 10-20; Courtenay's Temple, i., 194, 419-421, 423; ii., 460, 461; Burnet, i., 366, 367; Parl. Hist., iv., 660, 665; Dalrymple, i., 137; Kennett, iii., 267; Rapin, ii., 674, 675; Anderson, ii., 529, 530; Wagemar, xiv., 298-300; Lingard, xii., 318, 319; Martin, i., 383; Smith, i., 46; Mass. H. S. Coll., xcx., 104, 105; Bancroft, ii., 325; Col. Doc., vii., 556; Eliz. Bill, 7; ante, 135, 152.

CHAP. V. had been doing a thing that went more against his heart
 1674. than the losing of his right hand." The war had been begun by "the Cabal" of England, as Temple acknowledged, "with two unusual strains to the honour of the crown;" and, instead of making her king "great," had made "only four great subjects." During the course of it Holland had lost her ablest statesman, and in his place had raised to her highest post of authority the young representative of the Silent founder of the republic. She had recovered, and had resigned, her ancient trans-Atlantic province. For a season she retired from prominence in American history. But it was only to return, in the fullness of time, as the fatherland of a sovereign appointed by Providence to maintain civil and religious liberty on both shores of the Atlantic, and once more to govern the countrymen who never forgot their own Batavian prince.*

Holland,
and Amer-
ican histo-
ry.

2, June.
New Or-
ange af-
fairs.

28 April.
6 May.

When rumors of these events reached New Orange, Colve was still strengthening it "against the coming of the New England army." This was done so thoroughly that one hundred and ninety guns, some of which came from Esopus, were mounted on Fort William Henry and about the town. The dilatory victims of the forced loan ordered in March were compelled to pay their assessments. This was the more hard, because the expense which had been devoted to the fortifications was now of no avail. John Sharpe, having come from New England with Isaac Melyn, in violation of the edict of December, news of the peace and of the surrender of the province was soon noised through the city. Melyn taunted its Dutch burghers with having "slaved and wrought too hard and too long for the King of England." This threw them "into such a distracted rage and passion that they cried, 'We'll fire the town, pluck down the fortifications, and tear out the governors' throats' who had compelled them to slave so, contrary to their native privileges." Having no official information of what had happened in Europe, Colve determined to punish the "fomenters of mutiny and disturbance." Melyn was accordingly sentenced to "come personally every day, when the burgher companies are employed at the city for-

2, May.
Cases of
Melyn and
Sharpe.

* Rapin, ii., 675; Sylvius, x., 50, 21; Col. Doc., ii., 726; Basnage, ii., 499; Burnet, i., 367; Temple, ii., 251; Clarke's James II., i., 459; *post*, 536.

tifications, and work with them until said fortifications are completed." Sharpe was banished out of the province for ten years. On reaching Milford, he reported that the Dutch in New Netherland were so enraged that they declared they would not, "on demand and by authority of the States or Prince, surrender, but keep it by fighting, so long as they can stand with one leg and fight with one hand."²²

CHAP. V.

1674.

12 May.

Feeling of
the Dutch
in New
Nether-
land.

Authentic intelligence of peace was soon received from Massachusetts and Connecticut. A few days afterward the Treaty of Westminster was proclaimed at the City Hall of New Orange. Connecticut, however, after news of the restoration of New Netherland to the king had reached Hartford, resolved that, as Southampton, Easthampton, and Southold had asked it, they should continue under her government. John Howell, John Younge, and John Mulford were accordingly appointed commissioners for the three towns, and were "invested with magistratival power" by the Hartford Court. Samuel Willys, John Talcott, and Secretary Allyn were also empowered to go to Long Island, "to order and settle the affairs of those people, and to establish such military officers amongst them as they shall see reason and judge necessary." Easthampton, on her part, appointed a committee, in conjunction with Southampton and Southold, to petition the king to allow them to continue under the jurisdiction of Connecticut. Thinking it was now a good opportunity to extend their bounds westward on the main land, the Hartford Court, at their autumn session, appointed commissioners "forthwith to run the line between this colony and the colony of New York from Momoronock River to Hudson's River." At the same time, it was well known that it had been settled in 1664 that the boundary should be "twenty miles every where from Hudson's River."²³

12 May.

Action of
Connecticut
about
Long Isl-
and.

20 May.

22 May.

1 June.

23 June.

18 Oct.

Boundary
with New
York.

The Jesuit missionaries, Bruyas and Millet, were now apprehensive of being driven away by the savages, who declared themselves the friends of the Dutch. Several

²² Col. Doc., ii., 617, 666, 697, 707-711, 719; Col. MSS., xxiii., 324, 328, 340, 397; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 108-110; Moulton, 14; Palfrey, iii., 136, 137; *ante*, 206, 233.

²³ Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 224, 226, 229, 242; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 104-106; Trumbull, i., 349; Wood, 93; Thompson, i., 156, 159, 367, 383; Col. MSS., xxiii., 576; Col. Doc., ii., 719, 723, 729; iii., 231, 235; New Orange Rec., viii., 201; *ante*, 56, 222.

CHAP. V. emissaries were sent by Draeyer to engage the Iroquois against the French; and some Canadian prisoners were carried down to New Orange. Mohawk chiefs from Caghnaawaga and Gandagaro, accompanied by Jan Jansen Bleecker and Henry Lansing as interpreters, also visited Colve. They had come, they said, "as to their brethren; for the Dutch, both at Nassau and here [New Orange], have been always one flesh with them." The new bond of peace, made at the "last harvest," was confirmed, and the chiefs declared that if the French should come to injure their brethren, then they would "side with the Dutch, and live and die with them." After visiting some of the neighboring tribes, the Mohawk sachems were conveyed back to Fort Nassau, loaded with presents, and assured that they would be shown all possible favor, "as brethren of the Dutch."*

1674.

¹⁵/₂₅ April.⁹/₁₉ May.
Mohawk
chiefs at
New Or-
ange.

26 May.

5 June.

5 June.
French at
Hurley.

The Treaty of Westminster, leaving the Dutch at war with the French, really made them more bitter enemies. Colve, of course, held all the subjects of Louis in America to be hostile to the government of his fatherland. Some Frenchmen at Hurley, having refused to swear allegiance, were ordered to be sent away unless they took the oath, and promised "to remain quiet in case of any attack by their nation."†

Not long afterward, a Dutch privateer, "The Flying Horse," Captain Juriaen Aernouts, commissioned by the Prince of Orange, came from Curaçoa and Saint Domingo to Boston, where she obtained a pilot, and then sailed to Acadia. There Aernouts attacked and captured the French forts of Penobscot, commanded by Chamblly, and "Gemsec," on the Saint John's, commanded by Marson. Possession was taken, in the name of the Dutch government, of the coasts and country of Acadia, and the plunder was brought to Boston. Frontenac complained of this to Governor Leverett, but seems to have obtained no satisfaction; because Massachusetts coveted Maine, and wished the Dutch conquest of it to inure to her own benefit.‡

10 August.
Capture by
the Dutch
of French
forts in
Acadia.

Septem.

* Col. Doc., ii., 594, 608, 618, 659, 662, 712, 713, 716, 717; iii., 250; ix., 97, 110, 117; Charlevoix, ii., 258, 259; Bancroft, ii., 322. † Col. Doc., ii., 646, 676, 718; Esopus Records.

‡ Col. Doc., iv., 476; ix., 119, 120, 547, 793; Charlevoix, ii., 275, 280, 289; Quebec MSS., ii. (A), 57; Williamson, i., 580; Hutchinson, i., 311, *note*, Col. i., 464; Mass. H. S. G. O. xxxii, 286; Mass. Rec., v., 116, 118; Depeyster's "Dutch in Maine," 45, 73-76; *post*, 200.

Colve and his council were meanwhile occupied in deciding important cases affecting lands in Achter Col, Long Island, and elsewhere. Order and decorum were enforced occasionally by severe penalties. Samuel Forman, of Oyster Bay, having made a great uproar in the streets of New Orange, and even come into the Dutch Church during divine service on Sunday, "abusing with great levity the word of God, and blaspheming his holy name," was condemned to be whipped, and banished out of the province. Daniel Lane, of Setaleot, or Brookhaven, charged with incest, having escaped from prison before trial, his estate was seized; and half of it allowed to his wife, to whom a divorce was promised if the accused did not appear within six months and purge himself from the crime.*

CHAP. V.

1674.

Case of
Samuel
Forman.

19 April.

Case of
Daniel
Lane.

12 April.

The Lutheran Domine Fabricius, who had gone to the Delaware territory, coming back to New Orange, irregularly and without authority married Ralph Doxy, of Newtown, on Long Island, to Mary Harris. The court, aware of his "previous ill conduct," but unwilling, "out of respect for his old age and the office he last filled," to proceed rigorously, suspended Fabricius from the ministry for one year. The marriage of Doxy was declared unlawful, but the parties were allowed to marry again "according to the laws of the Government." The domine petitioned that his sentence should be modified so far as to allow him "at least to baptize;" but the court declined his request.†

1 March.
Case of
Fabricius.

13 April.

The Dutch churches, fostered by Colve, foresaw that they would not be so comfortable under the English, who were soon to repossess the province. To guard themselves as much as possible, the Consistory of New Orange asked that their old church in Fort William Henry, which, at the surrender in 1664, had been stipulated should continue in its then use, might be confirmed to them; and the governor promptly ordered "a Deed in form" to be granted, which was accordingly duly executed. As Van Ruyven

7 July.
The Re-
formed
Dutch
Church.

23 July.

* Col. MSS., xxii., 147; xxiii., 330, 331; Col. Doc., ii., 606, 661, 668, 694, 704-728; Whitehead, 61; Moulton, 13.

† Col. Doc., ii., 656, 689, 691, 692, 693, 706; S. Hazard's Ann. Penn., 410, 411, 412; Moulton, 8; ante, 175. Fabricius appears to have behaved very badly to his wife, and was fined by the Court of Burgomasters and Schepens of New Orange: see Col. MSS., xxiii., 311, 314, 315; N. O. City Rec., vii., 201, 202; Doc. Hist., iii., 242, 243; Val. Man., 1850, 528; 1851, 428, 431, 432, 435, 441-450; 1853, 497. He then went back to the Delaware, where he again got into trouble: S. Hazard, 419, 420.

CHAP. V.

1674.

26 July.
Feeling of
the Dutch
about the
restoration
of New
Netherland
to En-
gland.

was about to return to Holland with his mother-in-law, the widow of Domine Megapolensis, the arrears of salary due to that clergyman were recommended to be paid to her. In writing to the Classis of Amsterdam, Domine Van Nieuwenhuysen expressed the general feeling of the Dutch: "We are greatly pleased at the peace arranged between our country and the kingdom of England, but we should have been the more touched if we were not apprehensive that this country is included in the scope of the sixth article of the sealed Treaty, and must be restored back to that crown. It is not less agreeable to us to understand how God Almighty has been pleased to put a hook in the nose of the haughty French Sennecherib, and thus far to stay the wasting of his dearly-bought Church in our various cities particularly, and in our Fatherland generally."*

- The city government had now been in office for nearly a year, and it was necessary to make new appointments. From the nominations submitted, Van Brugh and Beckman were accordingly selected as burgomasters, and Kip, Verplanck, Rombouts, Hoogland, and Stephanus van Cortlandt, as schepens of New Orange. Knyff was continued as schout-fiscal. Very little, however, was left the municipal officers to do. They obtained an order from Colve for the produce of the scales and tapster's excises, to pay the city debt of upward of six thousand guilders for work done on the fortifications. New "church-wardens" were nominated by the metropolitan authorities and confirmed by the governor.†

- While the Treaty of Westminster was yet in suspense, Manning reached London in great distress from Fayal, where he and his soldiers had been landed, and was summoned before the Duke of York, who, after hearing his story, at first censured him. At Lord Arlington's office he was again closely examined by the king and the duke. "Brother," said Charles to James, "the ground could not

* Col. Doc., ii., 721, 722, 730; Col. MSS., xxiii., 269, 453-446; N. Y. H. S. Coll. (II.), III., 142; Corr. Cl. Amsterdam. Van Ruyven, who never returned to New York, was living at Amsterdam in 1698: Col. Doc., iv., 553.

† Col. MSS., xxiii., 371; New Orange City Rec., vii., 293, 211, 212, 213; Val. Man., 1890, 538; 1850, 472, 473, 476, 477, 487, 488, 492; Moulton, 14; *ante*, 212, 233, 242. Among the rules adopted by the burgomasters and schepens of New Orange was one that whoever should smoke tobacco in the court while it was engaged in business should forfeit two and a half guilders: Val. Man., 1850, 483.

be maintained by so few men;" and Manning was dismissed without reprimand. For more than two months he awaited the pleasure of the duke, who at length paid his expenses from Fayal.*

CHAP. V.

1674.

But who should be sent to receive and govern New York? was the question. Lovelace was unfit; Nicolls was dead; a new man must be named. The person selected was Edmund Andros, a major in a dragoon regiment, disbanded after the Westminster Treaty. Charles accordingly commissioned Andros to receive New Netherland from the Dutch; and he asked the States General to direct their "Governor or Commandant of the place called New York, in the West Indies," to surrender it to Andros, whom he had appointed to go there and take possession in his name.†

Major Edmund Andros.

31 March.

9 April. Commissioned to receive New Netherland.

Thinking that the re-establishment of the duke's authority over his former province would be hurtful to Massachusetts, John Collins, its agent at London, wrote to Governor Leverett that "New York being restored by the peace, one Mr. Andrews is appointed governor, a man I know not; and some rumour is maliciously spread at court that you have made peace with the Dutch there, which is obviated by the readiness of some persons to show the falsehood of it. I hope nothing will for this year further disturb you; and if any thing do arise, it will be from New York and the Government there. I have therefore greatly encouraged some gentlemen, your friends, who would purchase it of His Royal Highness, as thinking it will be much for your peace, who are about it; but how it will issue, I know not." This project, however, if seriously entertained, came to naught. The king was now the only English proprietor of New York under the Treaty of Westminster; and while Charles was offended at the insubordination of his subjects in Massachusetts, he had "little time to mind such minute things" as theirs.‡

30 April. Massachusetts and New York.

New York not to be bought.

Meanwhile the delayed letter of the municipality of New Orange reached the States General only the day before the

5 March.

* Col. MSS., xxiv., 36-51; Doc. Hist., iii., 53, 54, 59; Sylvius, x., 23; ante, 213. It is difficult to understand how Dunlap (i., 130) could venture the preposterous conjecture that "the needy and profligate Charles was pacified by receiving part of the bribe Manning had taken from the Dutch;" compare ante, 206-208.

† Col. Doc., ii., 544, 740, 741; ix., 403; Col. Rec. Conn., iii., 276; Temple, ii., 75.

‡ Hutchinson's Coll., 443, 444; Mass. II. S. Coll., xxx., 106; Palfrey, iii., 22, 512.

CHAP. V. Peace of Westminster was proclaimed—too late for any effect. The several Boards of Admiralty had been asked
1674.

20 March.

Advice
of the Ad-
miralty
Boards
about New
Nether-
land.

13th March.

6 April.
Request
of the States
General
about New
Nether-
land.

13th April.
Promise of
Charles.

25 May.

4 June.
Rensselaer-
wyck.

4th June.

The Rotterdam Board thought that the King of England should consider the Dutch in New Netherland not as "a conquered people, but as men who have passed by conveyance and convention under another sovereignty."

That at Amsterdam submitted a memorial from the merchants trading to New Netherland that the province should be repurchased; but, if that could not be done, the King of England should be required not to molest its inhabitants for what they had done during the war; that their rights should be respected, and a free trade be established; and that the old articles of capitulation in 1664 should "remain valid and be faithfully executed." The Zealand Board at Middleburg knew "no fitter means than to furnish said inhabitants with ships and craft for their conveyance, either to this country, or Surinam, or some other colony dependent on the jurisdiction of this State."*

The States General promptly complied with Charles's request to order the surrender of New Netherland to Andros, but desired the king to leave the people of the province "in full and entire possession of the lands, property, and rights they possess in those parts, in the same manner they held them before the rupture." Charles assured their high mightinesses "that all the inhabitants there should enjoy all their rights and privileges, of which they were in the enjoyment before the war." This declaration substantially gave new effect to the articles of capitulation in 1664. The Dutch ambassadors at London were also instructed to do all they could in aiding the proprietors of Rensselaerwyck to obtain from the king a confirmation of their ancient privileges.†

At the request of Secretary Coventry, the West India Company also wrote to Colve to surrender New Netherland, although the matter was "wholly beyond their controul." The ship "Muyll Tromp" [Jews' Harp], Captain Hendrick Toll, being now reported ready to take out orders for the evacuation, and bring home the Dutch soldiers

* Col. Doc., ii., 526, 532, 533-544, 658, 662, 664, 677; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 505; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 103; ante, 220, 221.

† Col. Dec., ii., 543-548, 549-561; ante, 218.

in the province, the States General directed Colve "to restore and surrender the aforesaid New Netherland to Edmund Andros, or such other person as the King of Great Britain shall have deputed for that purpose; that, in case the above-named Edmund Andros should not have as yet arrived yonder, and no one have order from the King of Great Britain to receive the aforesaid country, the above-named Governor Colve shall, pursuant to the last Treaty concluded with the said King in February last, and agreeably to their High Mightinesses' aforesaid Resolution of the Sixteenth of last April, vacate said New Netherland, and place it—having made an inventory and obtained a receipt—in the hands of the political Government there, to the end that thus possession may be taken for the behoof of the King of Great Britain." The Dutch ambassadors at London, having communicated these orders, were informed that Andros was authorized to receive New Netherland, and would proceed thither at once, with "a number of new colonists" from England.

In due time the Dutch frigate reached New Orange; and Colve announced his orders to the burgomasters and schepens, who voted him two hundred and fifty florins "for his last year's services." A few days afterward he requested the court to name ten persons, from whom he would select five, "who, after his departure, shall exercise and possess the executive authority until the arrival of the expected ships and the Governor of His Majesty of England, who shall be also authorized to surrender the country to whomsoever exhibits His Majesty's Commission." Steenwyck, Bayard, Van Brugh, Beckman, Luyek, Kregier, De Peyster, Van Cortlandt, Kip, and Rombouts were accordingly nominated. But the proposed provisional government was not organized. Before Colve was ready to embark the expected British frigates anchored at Staten Island; and Andros notified him that, pursuant to the late treaty of peace, he was ready to receive possession for the King of England of "the New Netherland and dependances, now under" the Dutch governor's command.*

CHAP. V.

1674.

27 June.

7 July.

Orders of the States General to Colve about the surrender of New Netherland.

7 July.

5 Oct.

Colve's orders received.

15 Oct.

15 Oct.

Proposed provisional government of New Netherland.

22 October.

1 November.
Arrival of Andros.

* Col. MSS., xxiii., 412, 413; Col. Doc., ii., 544, 564-568, 730-732; New Orange Rec., vii., 227, 244-247; Val. Man., 1553, 482, 493, 494; Doc. Hist., iii., 45; ante, 257.

CHAPTER VI.

1674-1678.

CHAR. VI.

1674.
Effect of
the Treaty
of West-
minster.

Defects in
James's
title.

No *jus*
postlimi-
nii.

By the Treaty of Westminster the United Provinces relinquished their conquest of New Netherland to the King of England. The sovereign Dutch States General had treated directly with Charles as sovereign. A question at once arose at Whitehall about the subordinate interest of the Duke of York. It was claimed by some that James's former American proprietorship was revived. Yet, while the Treaty of Westminster re-established the Articles of Capitulation agreed to by Nicolls and Stuyvesant, who represented their sovereigns in 1664, it did not cure the imperfections subject to which the duke had for nine years governed his American province. James's patent had been sealed while the Dutch were in quiet possession of New Netherland; and no new grant was made to him after the Treaty of Breda, which confirmed to the English king his conquest of the Dutch province. Eminent lawyers "very justly questioned" the duke's pretension to the territory which England had recently recovered; because its cession to her sovereign by the Dutch government "had given no strength to original defects." James was now obliged to give up the claim of English right which he and his brother had formerly maintained. Moreover, the duke wished to regain New Jersey, which he had so foolishly squandered on Berkeley and Carteret. Besides this, the boundary agreement with Connecticut, which had never been ratified by the crown or by himself, was a sore point. The opinion of counsel having been taken, they advised that the duke's proprietorship had been extinguished by the Dutch conquest, and that the king was now alone seized of New Netherland, by virtue of the Treaty of Westminster. The "*Jus Postliminii*" did not obtain in New York.*

* Col. Doc., ii., 739; iii., 166, 176, 205, 236, 257; v., 536; vii., 586, 596, 597; Ediz. B. 177.

CHAP. VI.

1674.

29 June.
New patent
to the
Duke of
York.

A new patent to the Duke of York was therefore sealed. By it the king again conveyed to his brother the territories he had held before, and granted him anew the absolute powers of government he had formerly enjoyed over British subjects, with the like additional authority over "any other person or persons" inhabiting his province. Under the same description of boundaries, New Jersey, and all the territory west of the Connecticut River, together with Long Island and the adjacent islands, and the region of Pemaquid, were again included in the grant. The new patent did not, as has been commonly, but erroneously stated, "recite and confirm the former." It did not in any way allude to that instrument. It read as if no previous English patent had ever existed. It was a second grant; in almost the same terms with the first; and it conveyed to the duke, ostensibly for the first time, a territory which the Dutch government, after conquering and holding, had by treaty "restored to His Majesty."^{*}

Thus James again became the proprietor of a vast American province, over which he was to domineer, until his delegated authority from the king was merged in his inherited right as successor to the crown. His private revenue continued to be managed by a board of commissioners, of which his brother-in-law, Lawrence Hyde, was one; Sir Allen Apsley was his treasurer and receiver general, Sir Thomas Wynnington his attorney general, and Sir John Churchill his solicitor general. In place of Matthew Wren, who had been killed at his side in 1672, the duke's secretary was Sir John Werden; although James frequently wrote letters to his governors with his own hand.[†]

James's
commis-
sioners and
officers.Werden,
the duke's
secretary.

As his colonial lieutenant and deputy, the duke, almost

57; Leaming and Spicer, 50; Vattel, 212, 362; Kent, i., 108-111; Douglas, ii., 224, 268; Smith, i., 48; Chalmers's Ann., i., 579-581, 617; Rev. Col., i., 143; Proul, i., 282; Grahame, i., 422, 467; Spectator, No. xx.; ante, vol. i., 4, 141, 143, 144; ii., 36, 56, 135, 269, 251, 253.

^{*} Col. MSS., xxiii., 362; Eliz. Bill, 7; Deeds, i., 1; Leaming and Spicer, 3-8, 41-45, 50; Col. Doc., ii., 295-298, 539; iii., 215, 234, 235; vii., 597; Chalmers's Ann., i., 579, 580; Whithead's E. J., 63, 264; Yonkers Gaz., 4 Nov., 1865; Hist. Mag., i. (ii.), 89-91; ante, 16.

[†] Werden was a son of Colonel Robert Werden, of Chester, one of the duke's commissioners, and before he became his secretary, had been *chargé d'affaires* at Madrid in 1667; special messenger to Temple at the Hague in 1669; at Stockholm in 1670; was made a baronet in 1672; and in 1673 was appointed a commissioner of the navy: Temple's Works, i., 457; ii., 195, 196; Courtenay's Temple, ii., 400; Pepys, iii., 167, 231, 235; iv., 25; Beatson, i., 268, 359; ante, 4, 136, 186. The first regular Entry Books relating to New York, in the State Paper Office at London, begin in 1674. None of the duke's letters before that date seem to be preserved there; and the few documents of an earlier period which I found are chiefly those sent by Nicolls and Lovelace to the English secretaries of state.

CHAP. VI. necessarily, appointed Major Edmund Andros, whom the king had directed in the previous March to receive New Netherland from the Dutch. Born in London in 1637, Andros had been brought up in the royal household, of which his father was lieutenant of the ceremonies. During the exile of the court, Andros began his military life in Holland, under Prince Henry of Nassau. After the Restoration he was favored by Charles; distinguished himself in the first Dutch war; and in 1669 was commissioned major in Prince Rupert's regiment of dragoons. In 1672 Andros commanded the English forces in Barbadoes, where he got reputation for skill in American affairs. The proprietors of Carolina made him a landgrave, and granted him four baronies in their province. Andros was married, in 1671, to Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Craven. On the death of his father in April, 1674, he succeeded to the office of bailiff of Guernsey, and became hereditary seigneur of the fief of Sausmarez. Like his predecessors, Nicolls and Lovelace, Andros was an English Episcopalian, but no bigot. Moreover, he was a good Dutch and French scholar. Of unblemished private character; with talents, energy, and zeal in his master's service, he was as fitting an instrument as the Duke of York could have chosen to confirm arbitrary government in his regained province. Andros was accordingly commissioned by James to be his "Lieutenant and Governor" within the territories covered by his patent; to hold office during his pleasure, and to obey all orders that he might give. Andros's commission was almost exactly similar to those of Nicolls and Lovelace.*

1 July.
Andros
com-
mis-
sioned gov-
ernor of
New York.

1 July.
Andros's
Instruc-
tions from
the duke.

The duke's Instructions to Andros, minute and specific, formed the temporary political constitution of New York. The governor was to satisfy the inhabitants that his coming was "for their protection and benefit, for the encouragement of planters and plantations, and the improvement of trade and commerce, and for the preservation of religion, justice, and equity among them." Strict discipline was to be maintained among the soldiers, so as to avoid all

* Col. Doc., ii., 544, 740, 741; iii., 215, 224, 291, 308; ix., 403; Letter of Selyns to Cl. Amst., 10 Oct., 1688; Mem. of Penn. H. S., vii., 36, 37; Col. Rec. Conn., iii., 376; Temple, ii., 78; Peppys, i., 69; ii., 167, 231, 231; Chalmers's Ann., i., 509; *ante*, 15, 144; *post*, *note* B. A memoir of Andros, and an engraved portrait of him, from an original in England, has been published by the Prince Society at Boston, in Massachusetts.

causes of complaint. None of the inhabitants were to be molested for assisting Evertsen in taking the fort, except in the case of Englishmen, whose estates might be forfeited ; but the Dutch who had been active were to be observed "more circumspectly" thereafter, and to be removed from places of strength. Special care was to be taken of the forts at New York and New Albany, "upon which, in a manner, wholly depend the safety and trade of the whole country." Planters of all nations, but especially Englishmen, were to be offered "all manner of encouragement" to settle in New York, by assigning them lands according to the rules observed "by those of New England and Maryland," so that the province should, in that respect, be at least equal to "any other neighboring colony." The quit-rent reserved to the duke was left to the discretion of the governor, who was directed "to settle a good correspondence with the neighboring English Plantations, as well those of New England as those of Maryland." As it was "necessary to make some abatement in the customs," James established a new "tariff," or declaration of the duties on imports. All goods brought into New York were to pay two per cent. if shipped from England or any English plantation, and ten per cent. if coming from a foreign country. All imports, except farmers' tools going up the Hudson River, were to be charged three per cent. in addition. Wines were to pay ten shillings a pipe, and brandy or other European spirits fifteen shillings a hogshead ; while rum—which came from the West Indies—was favored by the lower rate of six shillings a hogshead. All liquors sent up the Hudson River were charged double these rates. Exported beavers were to pay fifteen pence on each skin, and other peltry in proportion ; while New York tobacco was charged two shillings a hogshead if sent to England, and a penny a hundred weight if sent elsewhere. The same regulations were to apply "in Delaware River as in Hudson's River." These rates were "to hold good for three years, to commence from the arrival and publication of them at New York." Excise and other internal taxes, which had been imposed by Nicolls and Lovelace, were to be temporarily continued until farther orders from the duke. All these duties were calmly laid by

CHAP. VI.

1674.

Planters to be encouraged.

Tariff of duties.

Rates to last for three years after publication.

CHAP. VI. James, at Windsor Castle, on the people of New York.
 1674. At the same time, he directed his provincial governor to lessen the charge of government there as much as possible, "that so, by degrees, I may reap from thence some advantages, in return for the great expence and trouble I have been at in protecting that colony." Justice was to be administered "with all possible equality, without regard to Dutch or English," so that all might see "their just rights preserved to them inviolably." The laws and orders established by Nicolls and Lovelace were not to be varied from "but upon emergent necessities," and with the advice of the council and the gravest and most experienced inhabitants; and no alteration was to be valid unless confirmed by the duke within a year. All writs were to run in the king's name. Magistrates were to be chosen "for their abilities and integrity," and no officers were to be appointed "for above one year, or otherwise than during pleasure." The governor was to choose a council, not exceeding ten, out of "the most prudent inhabitants," with whom he was to "consult upon all extraordinary occasions" relating to the public service. They were to hold their places during the duke's pleasure; and they, as well as all other officers, were to take oaths of allegiance to the king, and of fidelity to the proprietor, as also one peculiar to the office. Freedom of conscience was secured. "You shall," were James's orders to Andros, "permit all persons, of what Religion soever, quietly to inhabit within the precincts of your jurisdiction, without giving them any disturbance or disquiet whatsoever, for or by reason of their differing opinions in matter of Religion: Provided they give no disturbance to the public peace, nor do molest or disquiet others in the free exercise of their religion."

Equal administration of justice.

Magistrates and officers.

Councilors.

Freedom of religion in New York.

Brockholls Lieutenant under Andros.

In case of the death of Andros, Lieutenant Anthony Brockholls was to succeed him in his government. Brockholls was of a Roman Catholic family in Lancashire, England, and was himself "a profest Papist." The "Test Act" of 29 March, 1673, would have excluded him from holding office in England. But, as that statute did not extend to the British American Plantations, the duke, himself a victim of Protestant intolerance, was able to illustrate his own idea of "Freedom to worship God," by ap-

pointing a member of the Church of Rome to be his second colonial officer in New York.*

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1674.

By the king's special permission, the Duke of York raised a company of infantry, consisting of one hundred men, besides officers, to serve in his province. Of this company he commissioned Andros to be captain, and Brockholls lieutenant. Christopher Billop, who had "served the king," and whose father was an importunate office-seeker, was appointed second lieutenant, and Caesar Knapton ensign. A surgeon and a chaplain were likewise established for the forces in New York.†

1 July.
2 July.
Regular
military
officers in
New York.

James also chose William Dyer, or Dyre, formerly of Rhode Island, and who, the autumn before, had planned reconquest, to be the collector of his provincial customs. Dyer was instructed to receive all the customs' duties accruing to the duke within the territory granted to him by the king, and pay them over to Andros, whose farther directions he was to follow, and to whom he was to report from time to time. No trust was to be allowed to any one, and all duties were to be paid in money or goods. The collector was not to trade as a merchant; and all revenue differences with importers were to be determined by "the ordinary magistrates of the place, or otherwise, as hath been hitherto accustomed."‡

2 July.
Dyer col-
lector of
New York.

One of the motives to the Duke of York's second patent was the peculiar condition of New Jersey. James considered that his former release of that region to Berkeley and Carteret was annulled by the Dutch conquest—just as his own grant from the king had been. But both his grantees were old courtiers, and more than his match, where their own interests were at stake. They played

New Jersey
affairs.

* Col. Doc., iii., 216-219, 657, 674; iv., 166; Burke's Commons., iv., 491; *ante*, 262. Brockholls, although a Roman Catholic, was married to Susanna Maria, daughter of Paulus Schrick, of New York, and a member of the Reformed Dutch Church, in which their children were all baptized. One of these children, Susanna Brockholls, married Philip French, Jun., and their daughter Susanna married William Livingston, governor of New Jersey, by whom she had Judge Henry Brockholst Livingston, and others: N. Y. H. S. Coll. (ii.), i., 395; Col. Doc., iv., 664; Val. Man., 1863, 748, 809; Sedgwick's Livingston, 59, 60, 236, 239. The usual English spelling of the name was "Brockholes;" but the major's autographs in the Secretary's Office at Albany are written "Brockholls." The Dutch Church Records make the name "Brockholst," and this appears to have been preferred by his descendants.

† Col. Doc., iii., 219-221, 229, 276, 284; Pepys, iv., 43. It is not known what chaplain accompanied Andros to New York in 1674: Hist. Mag., vi., 153, 156, 159; Col. Doc., iii., 415, *note*; Gen. Ent., xxxii., 93; N. Y. H. S. Coll. (1869), 157; *ante*, 45, *note*.

‡ Chalmers, i., 580; Col. Doc., ii., 721; iii., 267, 221-223, 318; iv., 363; R. I. Col. Rec., i., 265; ii., 168, 296; Val. Man., 1853, 387; *ante*, 247, 263; vol. i., 557.

CHAP. VI. their own separate games with skill, and eventually they beat the duke.

1674.

John Lord Berkeley.

18 March.
Conveys
his undi-
vided half
of New Jer-
sey to Byl-
linge and
Fenwick.

After returning from his lieutenancy of Ireland, Berkeley was appointed ambassador in France. He had found that his American proprietorship verified the prediction of Nicolls, that its profit, if any, would only benefit his grandchildren. Berkeley, therefore, shortly after the Treaty of Westminster, in consideration of one thousand pounds, conveyed to John Fenwick, an old Cromwellian soldier, in trust for Edward Byllinge, a broken-down London brewer, his undivided half of New Jersey, together with such "franchises, liberties, governments, and powers" as had been granted to him by the Duke of York in 1664. Both of Berkeley's grantees were Quaker disciples of George Fox, who had just returned from America. They probably calculated that they had secured a bargain. Yet Berkeley's conveyance to Fenwick was a very doubtful parchment. If, by reason of the Dutch reconquest of New York and New Jersey, the Duke of York was obliged to procure a new patent from the king, it was much more necessary for Berkeley to obtain a new release from his own grantor. Nevertheless, the bargain stood as it was thus concluded, just three months before Charles made his second grant to his brother; and Berkeley rejoiced that he had touched his thousand pounds, and was rid of any concern in New Jersey.*

Sir George Carteret.

13 June.
The king's
letter in
Carteret's
favor.

But Berkeley's old copartner, Sir George Carteret, was differently situated. He had no motive to part with his interest in New Jersey. He had come back from Dublin to resume his place near the person of his sovereign. It was not difficult for the domineering courtier to warp his easy king. Charles, accordingly—a fortnight before his own second patent to his brother for New York and New Jersey had passed the great seal—was prevailed upon to sign a letter declaring that Sir George was "seized of the Province of New Cæsarea or New Jersey, in America, and of the jurisdiction thereof," and commanding its inhabitants to obey his government, "who hath the sole power.

* Leaming and Spicer, 64, 65, 113; Chalmers, i. 617; S. Smith, 79, 89, 567; Gordon, 34; Burnet, i. 267; Col. Dec., iii, 105; Fox's Journal, 465; Sewall, 512; Bancroft, ii, 103; Grahame, i, 467, 473, 474; Whitehead, 65, 67; Dixon's Life of Penn (ed. Philad., 1851), 136; Dankers's and Sluyter's Journal, 241-243; *ante*, 85, 150, 260, 261.

under us, to settle and dispose of the said country, upon such terms and conditions as he shall think fit."*

Yet, when this letter was written, the king knew that the only way in which Carteret could be "seized" of New Jersey was by the duke's release in 1664, which made him a joint owner with Berkeley, who had just sold his undivided interest to Fenwick. How, then, could Carteret have "the sole power" which Charles's letter attributed to him? Moreover, at that very time the king had ordered a new patent, which he afterward sealed, granting to his brother "full and absolute power and authority" over all the territory between the Connecticut and the Delaware which had been relinquished to him by the Dutch in the Treaty of Westminster. New Jersey was a part of that territory; and after James's patent was sealed, he stood, in place of the king, as its only proprietor. Carteret, therefore, had no "power" at all in New Jersey. Whatever equitable claims Berkeley and Carteret, or their assigns might have had to the personal favor of James, they had no legal rights whatever to New Jersey after its conquest by the Dutch, and its second grant by King Charles to the Duke of York.

What followed is less clear. All that we know is, that the Duke of York—three weeks after he had commissioned Andros to be governor of the whole of his American territory—was induced to direct his attorney general and his solicitor general to prepare a grant to Sir George Carteret, *in severalty*, of a part of the portion which, ten years before, he had conveyed to Berkeley and Carteret *jointly*. Accordingly, James—referring to the king's second patent to him of 29 June, 1674—granted to Carteret and his heirs the tract of land "westward of Long Island and Manhattas Island, and bounded on the east, part by the main sea and part by Hudson's River, and extends southward as far as a certain creek called Barnegat, being about the middle between Sandy Point and Cape May; and bounded on the west in a strait line from the said creek called Barnegat to a certain creek in Delaware River next adjoining to and below a certain creek in Delaware River called Rankokus Kill; and from thence up the said Delaware River to the

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1674.

Fallacy of Charles's letter in favor of Carteret.

23 July.

29 July.

Grant by the Duke of York of New Jersey to Carteret in severalty.

* Col. MSS., xxii., 166; Eliz. Lill, 38; Leaming and Spicer, 49; Whitehead, 64.

CHAP. VI. 1674. northermost branch thereof, which is in forty-one degrees and forty minutes of latitude; and on the north crosseth over thence in a strait line to Hudson's River in forty-one degrees of latitude: which said tract of land is hereafter to be called by the name or names of *New Casarea*, or *New Jersey*." But—as in the case of the duke's original release of 24 June, 1664—his second grant did not convey to Carteret any of the "full and absolute power and authority to govern," which the king had intrusted to his brother.*

No powers
of govern-
ment
granted.

Whatever may have been the scope of this instrument, its history is remarkable. Before he granted it, James is said to have "hesitated long, and at length sacrificed his personal interest, as well as the prosperity of New York, to his fatal esteem for Carteret." The duke himself afterward declared that the grant was obtained from him "by surprise." The probability is that James found that he could not safely thwart his brother's imperious vice-chamberlain, for whom, besides, he cherished "much esteem and regard." So, to make things easy at Whitehall, he gave away to Carteret the largest half of New Jersey, which that experienced courtier flattered him he chose "because near unto his government of New York;" while it was really preferred "on the account of its being well settled with a sober and industrious people, which would invite others to come there, whereas the other was a desert." Yet James did not intend to "let go any part of his prerogative;" for he made no alteration in the commission he had given to Andros. Berkeley's conveyance of his undivided interest to Fenwick was disregarded; because, if the duke had been evicted by the Dutch conquest, much more so were his grantees in 1664. Carteret, however, took his new title, in severalty, knowing that in 1668 Staten Island had been "adjudged to belong to New York," and that it had been purchased for James in 1670.†

Effect of
the duke's
grant to
Carteret.

31 July.
Carteret's
new conces-
sions to
New Jer-
sey.

Esteeming himself, nevertheless, the sole proprietor of New Jersey, Carteret drew up some explanations of the former "concessions" of himself and Berkeley. In this instrument Sir George distinctly recognized the annihilation

* Col. Doc., iii., 223, 224; Eliz. BIII, 7; Leaning and Spicer, 42, 46, 47, 48; *ante*, 82, 83.

† Chalmers, I., 617; Col. Doc., iii., 229, 230; S. Smith, 548; Whitehead, 65, 67; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxvii., 315; *Yonkers Gazette* of 5 July and 5 August, 1865; *ante*, 149, 150, 166.

of his old rights by the Dutch conquest, and the recent fresh grant from the duke to himself. At the same time he commissioned his cousin Philip to be his provincial governor, and procured for him a passage in the frigate which was to convey Andros to New York.*

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1674.

It was necessary for the duke to do another act before he could feel at ease about his title to Long Island and Pen-aquid. The consideration which he had promised to Lord Stirling in 1664 had never been paid. To obtain a release from the earl of "all his pretence of right and title," James granted to him for life a pension of three hundred pounds a year, "out of the surplusage of the neat profits of the revenue arising out of the said colony, all manner of charges, be it civil or military, first deducted and allowed." At the same time, Lord Stirling agreed that, if the duke should procure for him "any employment or other satisfaction to the like value," he would release the grant of his annuity.†

30 July.
Lord Stirling's pension.

James now gave several final directions to Andros. As soon as he should arrive at New York, the governor was to seize the estate of Lovelace, who was charged with being about seven thousand pounds in debt to the proprietor. Andros was also furnished with a copy of the "Duke's Laws," as established in New York by Nicolls and Lovelace, which, it was thought upon consideration, might be amended "in some particular clauses thereof." His original instructions were therefore modified so as to require him "to put in execution the said laws, except such as shall have apparent inconveniences in them;" and, after his settlement in New York, he was, with the advice of his council, to make such amendments as might be found necessary "for the ease and benefit of the people," and the good of the proprietor's service. These alterations were to be at once reported to the duke for his authority to put them in execution. Shortly afterward James's new governor set sail, accompanied by his staff and military forces, and by "a number of new colonists." They were conveyed by

6, Aug.
Final instructions to Andros from the duke.

* *Elliz. Bill*, 7, 38-40; *Learning and Spicer*, 50-60; *Doc. Hist.*, iii., 45; *Whitehead*, 65, 66; *ante*, 83-86, 189, 190, 200. Carteret was a kinsman of Andros: *Hatfield*, 178.

† It seems that there never was any "surplusage of the neat profits" arising out of the revenue of New York, and that the duke neither got any office for Lord Stirling, nor paid him any part of his stipulated annuity: see *Col. Doc.*, iii., 42, 225, 606, 607; v., 320, 331; vi., 420-432; *Duer's Life of Stirling*, 37-40; *ante*, 15, 16.

CHAP. VI. the frigates Diamond, Captain Richard Griffith, and Castle, Captain Cassibelan Burton. Besides Philip Carteret, the governor of New Jersey, Captain John Manning, who had been waiting for some months in England, returned to New York in the Diamond with Andros.*

1674.

22 October.

1 Novem.
Andros no-
tifies Colve
to give pos-
session of
New Neth-
erland.

In due time the British frigates anchored at Staten Island; and Andros sent Governor Carteret with Ensign Knapton to notify Colve that he was ready to receive from him "The New Netherland and dependances," now under his command. The Dutch governor, however, declined yielding possession at once, and required eight days to complete the necessary preliminaries. These were not mere formalities. They touched what the Dutch considered their essential rights, chiefly affecting religion and property. The

24 October.

3 Novem.

The city
authorities
request
privileges
for the
Dutch.

burgomasters and schepens of the metropolis appointed Steenwyck, Van Brugh, and Beekman to welcome the English governor on board the Diamond, and request from him some privileges "for the advantage of the commonalty." Andros desired them to "assure the inhabitants of the Dutch nation that they should participate in the same privileges as those of the English nation, and that his Honor would, as far as possible, promote their interests; referring himself further to the Instructions given him by His Royal Majesty and Highness the Duke of York." Wish-

27 October.

6 Novem.
Colve's de-
mands.

The Dutch
Church in
New York.

ing more certainty, Colve sent Steenwyck and Captain Eppsteyn to Andros with several articles, to which he desired answers for the satisfaction of the Dutch government, and for "the greater tranquillity of the good People of this Province." These articles related chiefly to the settlement of debts; the validity of judgments during the Dutch administration, and the maintenance of owners in the possession of property; "that the inhabitants of the Dutch nation may be allowed to retain their customary Church privileges in Divine service and Church discipline, besides their Fathers' laws and customs in the division of their inheritances;" that they might not be forced to serve "against their own nation;" that each congregation might support its own poor; besides several other particulars.

* Col. Dec., ii., 733; iii., 226, 227; Doc. Hist., iii., 43, 54; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 6; Warr., Ord., Pass., etc., iii., 51; *ante*, 256. There is a copy of "the Duke's laws" in the State Paper Office, London: Board of Trade, N. Y., No. 119, 154.

Andros replied the next day by a general assurance that he would give satisfactory answers to most of the points, being ordered to observe the articles of peace "in the best and most friendly manner" toward the Dutch inhabitants, and that he had directed Captain Matthias Nicolls personally to confer with Colve on the subject. At this conference Nicolls satisfied Colve that Andros would give the desired answers as soon as he had assumed the government. This assurance was honorably fulfilled.*

All preliminaries being now satisfactorily arranged, Colve assembled the burgomasters and schepens, with the burgher court-martial, at the City Hall, and announced that on the morrow he would surrender the fort and province to Andros on behalf of the King of Great Britain; and, after thanking them for their past services, absolved them from their oaths of allegiance to the States General and the Prince of Orange. The banners of the "Out people," and the cushions and table-cloth in the City Hall, were intrusted to Burgomaster Van Brugh until they should be claimed by "superior authority;" and Colve then took his "farewell of the Assembly." The next day, being Saturday, the tenth of November, according to the New Style, "The Province of New Netherland was surrendered by Governor Colve to Governor Major Edmund Andros on behalf of His Britannic Majesty."†

Thus England once more became predominant over North America. From Carolina to Acadia its Atlantic coast obeyed the servants of her king. On taking possession of his government, Andros's first official act was to swear in Captain Matthias Nicolls as one of his council, and appoint him to be again secretary of the province of "New York." The governor's other counselors, from time to time, were Brockholls, Dyer, Phillipse, and the several mayors of the metropolis, Lawrence, Dervall, De Meyer, Van Cortlandt, and others. A proclamation was immediately issued, charging all persons to be peaceable.‡

* Col. MSS., xxiii., 412-420; New Orange Records, vii., 253; Doc. Hist., iii., 45-51; Val. Man., 1852, 415-421; 1853, 498; *ante*, 259. See Appendix, Note C, for the documents illustrating this negotiation between Colve and Andros.

† New Orange Rec., vii., 254, 255; Val. Man., 1852, 421, 422; 1853, 498, 499; Doc. Hist., ii., 51, 52; Col. MSS., xxiii., 423.

‡ Council Min., iii. (ii.), 1; Gen. Ent., iv., 295; Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 1; S. Hazard's Ann. Penn., 413; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 112; *ante*, 211.

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1674.

28 October.

7 Novem.

Andros's

reply.

29 October.

8 Novem.

30 October.

9 Novem.

Colve's

farewell to

New Neth-

erland.

31 October.

10 Novem.

New Neth-

erland re-

stored to

England.

31 October.

10 Novem.

Andros as-

sumes the

govern-

ment of

New York,

and ap-

points offi-

cers.

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1674.

Domine
Nicolaus
van Rens-
selaer.

A quiet Sunday followed. Whoever was British chaplain at the fort, it especially interested Domine Van Nieuwenhuysen to learn that the Reverend Nicolaus van Rensselaer, a younger son of the first patroon of Rensselaerwyck, and an ordained clergyman in both the Dutch and the English churches, had come over with Andros, recommended by the Duke of York to be made "minister of one of the Dutch churches in New York or New Albany, when a vacancy shall happen."*

2
3 Novem.
Letter of
Andros to
Colve.

Early on Monday morning Andros wrote a courteous letter to Colve, acknowledging his "generosity in all his proceedings" since the arrival of the English frigates; not the least touching mark of which seems to have been the gift by the Dutch governor to his successor of his coach and three horses. Andros likewise returned to Colve the articles proposed before the surrender; almost all of which were agreed to, and certified by Secretary Nicolls, "pursuant to the assurance given by those employed."†

Colve's
coach and
horses giv-
en to An-
dros.

3
3 Novem.
Andros no-
tifies the
governors
of the En-
glish colo-
nies.

At the same time Andros notified the governors of the neighboring English colonies of his arrival, and of his assumption of the government of New York. Dyer was installed as collector, and the duke's customs' rates published. Various local officers were also appointed. But, as these could not all be selected at once, the governor, by proclamation, authorized the English magistrates who were in office in the several towns at the time of the Dutch conquest, to act for six months, as before.‡

4
3 Novem.
Proclama-
tion to con-
firm En-
glish offi-
cers.

The most important point to be regained was Albany.

3 Novem.

Ensign Caesar Knapton was accordingly sent thither, with Sergeant Thomas Sharpe and eighteen men, to take com-

* Van Nieuwenhuysen's Letter to Cl. Amst., 30 May, 1675: Col. Doc., iii., 225; Doc. Hist., iii., 526; O'Call., i., 122, 212; ii., 562; Holgate, 42; Smith, i., 49, 388; N. Y. Christ. Int., 2 Nov., 1865; Hist. Mag., ix., 352. It appears that Van Rensselaer had luckily prophesied to Charles the Second, at Brussels, that he would be restored to his throne. When that event occurred the Domine accompanied the Dutch ambassador, Van Gogh, to London, as chaplain to the embassy; and the king, recollecting his prediction, gave Van Rensselaer a gold snuff-box, with his likeness in the lid, which is still preserved by the family at Albany. After Van Gogh left London because of the Dutch war in 1665, Domine Van Rensselaer received Charles's license to preach to the Dutch congregation at Westminster; was ordained a deacon in the English Church by the Bishop of Salisbury; and was appointed lecturer at Saint Margaret's Lothbury.

† Col. MSS., xxiii., 419, 420, 421; Doc. Hist., iii., 48, 49, 50; Val. Man., 1852, 418-421. Andros appears to have been the first English governor who used a coach and horses in New York, and they were a present from Colve: see Col. Doc., iv., 221, 275; ante, 223.

‡ Gen. Ent., iv., 296-299; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 2, 3; Warr., Ord., etc., iii., 2, 3; Riker's Newtown, 90; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 569; Col. Dec., iii., 217, 246; ante, 263, 265.

mand of the fort. Michael Siston was appointed schout, or sheriff, and Richard Pretty collector of the excise. George Hall was made schout of Esopus. Andros also wrote to the Dutch commissaries at both places, inclosing Colve's orders for their surrender. Domine Bernardus Arensius, the Lutheran minister, was at the same time licensed to go to Albany in the sloop which conveyed the new officers, and officiate there "as formerly under the English Government." The surrender was happily accomplished; and the reinstated Albany commissaries expressed their satisfaction at being settled again under the Duke of York's authority.*

CHAP. VI.

1674.

4 Novem.
Albany
officers.6 Novem.
Arensus.

19 Novem.

To quiet any controversy about the "*Jus Postliminii*," Andros now issued a proclamation that "all former grants, privileges, or concessions heretofore granted, and all estates legally possessed by any under His Royal Highness before the late Dutch Government, as also all legal judicial proceedings during that Government to my arrival in these parts, are hereby confirmed, and the possessors by virtue thereof to remain in quiet possession of their rights: It is hereby further declared that the known Book of Laws formerly established and in force under His Royal Highness's government, is now again confirmed by His Royal Highness, the which are to be observed and practiced, together with the manner and time of holding Courts there-in mentioned, as heretofore." The next week, to settle some farther doubts, the governor declared that his proclamation of the ninth of November was "to be understood with due regard of the Articles of Peace in every particular."†

9 Novem.
Proclama-
tion of An-
dros con-
firming all
former
grants.

16 Novem.

The city of New York being the metropolis, Andros, by a special commission, appointed Secretary Matthias Nicolls to be mayor, John Lawrence deputy mayor, and William Dervall, Frederick Phillipse, Gabriel Minvielle, and John Winder aldermen, who were to hold their offices until the

10 Novem.
City offi-
cers of New
York.

* Council Min., iii. (ii.), 2, 3; Gen. Ent., iv., 300-304; Warr., Ord., Passer, iii., 2-8, 38, 20; Doc. Hist., iii., 51, 52, 53. It appears that Arensius afterward spent his summers in New York, and his winters at Albany, ministering alternately to the Lutherans in each place: Letter of Solyns to Cl. Amst., 26 October, 1682; Murphy's Anthology, 94; C. Wolley, 57. Captain Knyff, on his departure for Holland, made several donations to the Lutheran Church: Col. MSS., xxiii., 424.

† Warr., Ord., Passer, iii., 13, 19; Col. MSS., xxiv., 8; Col. Dec., iii., 227; Doc. Hist., iii., 52; Min. of N. Y. Com. Council, i., 12, 13; Val. Man., 1845, 1846, 330, 331; ante, 269.

CHAP. VI. next October. Thomas Gibbs, who had been one of Lovelace's counselors, was also commissioned as sheriff. Yet
1674. care was taken that the English element should prevail.*

13 Novem. A few days afterward the "Mayor's Court" of the city
Mayor's Court of New York. of New York was convened. Its records were ordered to be thereafter kept in English, and every paper offered to the court to be in that tongue, except in the case of poor people who could not afford the cost of translation. This introduced more of the English form in legal proceedings. But it was several years before the system was settled.†

12 Novem. Pursuant to the duke's order, Andros seized the estate
Lovelace's estate seized for the Duke of York. of Lovelace, and required all persons having any of it in their hands to render accounts. The governor thus obtained possession of the "Bouwery," which some of the heirs of Domine Bogardus and his widow conveyed to Lovelace in 1671. It formed a part of "the Duke's farm," then esteemed to be one of the least valuable perquisites of the actual governor; but which has since become the subject of much avaricious strife.‡

Eastern towns on Long Island. When the governor's proclamation of the fourth of November, reinstating the old officers under Lovelace, was received at Southampton, Easthampton, and Southold, these towns held meetings, and directed Mulford, Howell, and Younge, the magistrates appointed by Connecticut, to sign
18 Novem. a memorial to Andros, stating that, by the aid of that colony, they had repelled the Dutch; that they were now under her government, and that they could not secede without her consent. It was at once ordered in council that the three towns should reinstate their former officers, according to the proclamation, "under the penalty of being declared rebels." Andros also wrote to Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, counseling him to disabuse his would-be subordinates of their "notion" that they could exercise

* Council Min., iii. (ii.), 3; Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 12. These particulars are not stated in Valentine's Manual. While the provincial seal was saved, the city's seal and mace had disappeared, and Andros "he poke" new ones: Col. Dec., iii., 230; *ante*, 157, 158, 212.

† Records of the Mayor's Court, ii.; Daly's Int., 28, 29; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 148; C. Wolley, 57. In May, 1677, it was ordered that "pleading attorneys" be no longer allowed to practice their profession in New York, "but for the depending causes."

‡ Col. Dec., iii., 226, 291; iv., 327, 393, 448; Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 15, 16; Col. MSS., xx., 14, 15, 72; Hoffman's Treatise, ii., 182, 183; Val. Man., 1890, 548; *ante*, 183, 269. Trinity Church, in the city of New York, now enjoys the benefit of this action of Governor Andros in 1674. Lovelace died before 21 January, 1679, on which day the accounts of his estate were exhibited: Col. MSS., xxvi., 43; xxviii., 50.

power in any part of New York. Sylvester Salisbury, who had returned from England with the governor, was accordingly dispatched to execute the orders of the council. To give him more dignity, Salisbury was also commissioned to be high-sheriff of Long Island.*

CHAP. VI.

1674.

5 Decem.
Salisbury
high-
sheriff.

Andros himself appears to have visited the eastern towns of Long Island, which prudently avoided any farther opposition to his authority. They soon learned that Winthrop had sent his son, with Mr. Willys, to explain the proceedings of Connecticut at New York, where they arrived during the governor's absence. The recusant towns seem to have been soothed by Salisbury's declaration that he accepted their return to New York "from under the colony of Connecticut, by whose help and protection they have been secured from the Dutch invasion unto the obedience of His Royal Highness." On his return to the capital, Andros wrote to Winthrop that every thing was satisfactorily arranged at the eastern end of Long Island; and that Connecticut, by her interference against the Dutch in the previous February, had done well for the restoration of his master's royal authority.†

Connecti-
cut mes-
sengers to
Andros.10 Decem.
Submis-
sion of re-
cusant
towns.23 Decem.
Andros
writes to
Winthrop.

By direction of the people of Newtown, their clerk, John Burroughs, replied to the governor's proclamation, speaking very plainly of the grievances they had suffered under Lovelace, and reflecting on the authority of the Court of Assizes. Andros at once demanded whether Burroughs had expressed the voice of the town, and an unsatisfactory answer was returned. The offending clerk was brought before the council at New York, and sentenced to stand an hour on the whipping-post before the City Hall, with a paper on his breast, setting forth that he had signed seditious letters against the government; and Burroughs was farther declared incapable of holding any public trust in the province. This sentence was executed under the direction of Sheriff Gibbs, at the metropolis.‡

16 Novem.
Letter of
Newtown
to Andros.

27 Novem.

5 Decem.
1675.15 Jan'y.
Its clerk,
Burroughs,
punished.

* Council Min., iii. (ii.), 6-9; Warr., Ord., Passes, etc., iii., 4, 28, 29, 30, 31, 41, 42, 53; Gen. Ent., iv., 299; Wood, 98, 99; Thompson, i., 158, 235, 238; *ante*, 253, 272.

† Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 113, 114, 117; Warr., Ord., Passes, etc., iii., 48; Thompson, i., 253; Dunlap, ii., App. xxxviii.; *ante*, 243.

‡ Warr., Ord., Passes, etc., iii., 25; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 14, 15; Riker's Newtown, 90-92. Several interesting details respecting Jamaica, Francis Bledgood, of Flushing, and Thomas and Mary Case, Samuel Scudder, and Samuel Furman, or Forman, may be found in Col. MSS., xxiv., 25, 171; xxv., 2; Warr., Ord., Passes, etc., iii., 52; Riker, 92-95; *ante*, 243, 275.

CHAP. VI.

1675.

8 Jan'y.
Council
meetings.
Fishery es-
tablished.

The council was now directed to meet for the transaction of business every Friday morning at nine o'clock. A charter was also passed, authorizing a joint-stock company "for settling a fishery in these parts" for cod. It is supposed that this was the first commercial corporation ever created within the province of New York.*

16 Jan'y.

2 Feb'y.
Manning
arraigned
before a
court-mar-
tial.

4 Feb'y.

5 Feb'y.

Sentence of
Manning.5 March.
Vessels to
enter at
the New
York Cus-
tom-house.

Among those who had lost heavily by the surrender to the Dutch was Alderman Dervall, who attributed it directly to the "treachery" of Manning. This charge against an Englishman made it necessary for the governor "to proceed against him," according to the duke's instruction. Manning was brought before a court-martial, composed of the Council, Captains Griffith, Burton, and Salisbury, and the mayor and aldermen of the city; and six charges were exhibited against him, involving neglect of duty, cowardice, and treachery. A number of witnesses testified strongly against the prisoner. Manning endeavored to explain his conduct; at the same time, acknowledging himself "blame-worthy to all" the charges except those of treachery and cowardice; and, pleading that his errors had been occasioned by his "poor broken head and disquieted spirit," he threw himself on the mercy of the court. His judges acquitted him of treachery, but found him guilty of the other charges. It was agreed that he deserved death; but as he had been in England since the surrender, and had seen the king and the duke, he was allowed the benefit of the proverb, "*King's face brings grace.*" Manning was therefore sentenced "to be carried back to prison, and from thence brought out to the publick place before the City Hall, there to have his sword broken over his head, and from that time be rendered incapable of wearing a sword or serving His Majesty in any publick employ or place of benefitt and trust within this Government."†

To secure the duke's customs' duties a proclamation was issued requiring all vessels trading within the government of the province to enter at the custom-house in New

* Col. MSS., xxiv., 67; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 10; Col. Doc., iii., 234, *note*.

† Col. Doc., ii., 628, 643; iii., 206, 216; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 15, 18, 20, 21; Col. MSS., xxiv., 26, 53, 97; Doc. Hist., iii., 53-55; Smith, i., 48, 49; Thompson, i., 159; Dunlap, i., 130; Val. Man., 1853, 184; C. Wolley, 47, 89, 100; *ante*, 208, 257, 263, 270. After this sentence Manning retired to his island in the East River, now known as Blackwell's Island (*ante*, 138), where he entertained his friends with bowls of excellent rum punch, according to the testimony of Chaplain Wolley, in 1679.

York. Dyer, the collector, accordingly executed his office CHAP. VI. so stringently as to give occasion, not long afterward, to 1675. serious complaints.*

Andros now issued a proclamation requiring "all such 13 March. Oaths of allegiance required. persons as doe intend to continue under His Majesty's obedience within His Royal Highness's government, that they appear at such times and places as the magistrates within the respective towns and places where they live shall appoint, to take the usual oaths of allegiance and fidelity." The mayor and aldermen of the city of New York accordingly appointed the next Monday for the purpose. Early on that morning many of the citizens appeared at the Mayor's Court, and were directed to take the same oath which 15 March. Nicolls required from the Dutch residents in 1664. Several of the leading burghers† readily agreed to do this, Objections of some of the Dutch. provided Andros would confirm what his predecessor had declared, namely, that the capitulation of August, 1664, was "not in the least broken or intended to be broken by any words or expressions in the said oath." This capitulation they thought was confirmed by the sixth article of the Treaty of Westminster in 1674; and such was the opinion of the duke and his officers. Mayor Nicolls, however, was "ignorant of any such declaration," and was quite surprised when a copy of it was produced. The burghers insisted that they only wished Andros's confirmation of their "freedom of religion and from being pressed in time of war." But the governor refused to make any explanation, and required them to take the oath without qualification, charging the recusants with being mutinous. Accordingly, Steenwyck and his associates petitioned Andros 16 March. Petition to Andros. either to be satisfied with the oath as accepted by Nicolls, or to allow them to dispose of their estates and remove elsewhere with their families. This petition was "not only ill received, but peremptorily rejected;" and its eight signers, Steenwyck, Van Brugh, De Peyster, Bayard, Luyck, Beekman, Kip, and De Milt, were imprisoned on a charge of 18 March. disturbing the government and endeavoring a rebellion.

* Warr., Ord., Passes, III., 63; Col. Doc., III., 229, 233, 239, 240, 316; Col. MSS., xxiv., 132; *ante*, 263, 272.

† These were, Cornelis Steenwyck, Johannes van Brugh, Johannes de Peyster, and Jacob Kip, who had objected in 1664, and Nicholas Bayard, Egidius Luyck, William Beekman, and Anthony de Milt, who had not: *ante*, 47, 48.

CHAP. VI.

1765.

18 March.
19 March.
The petitioners ordered to be tried.
20 March.

The governor at the same time issued a proclamation warning all against like practices. The prisoners having been examined before the council, where Governor Carteret, of New Jersey, and Captains Griffith and Burton, of the English frigates, were present, were ordered to be tried at the next Court of Assizes; and were released from close confinement only upon giving heavy bonds.*

Martha's
Vineyard
and Nan-
tucket.

Although Pemaquid, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket had been included in the Duke of York's patent, and had been governed by Nicolls and Lovelace, they were not comprehended in Colve's commission. This produced a sort of interregnum in those secluded regions, and many disorders occurred. Some of the "opposition" inhabitants of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket riotously endeavored to "transfer" them under the government of Massachusetts; but, through the firmness of the venerable Thomas Mayhew, they were held for the duke—the arrival of whose new governor was patiently waited for, "as in time of great drouth, for the latter raine." Mayhew was accordingly reinstated in his "first right;" and the ringleaders in the late disorders were directed to be punished. Nantucket soon afterward declared that the coming of the duke's governor was to them "as the rising sun after a dark and stormy night." It was therefore ordered that the two islands should continue to enjoy their former privileges in subordination to the government of New York, and that the old magistrates should remain in their places.†

1674.
7 Novem.1675.
12 April.

29 April.

Delaware
affairs.

3 Novem.

On the Delaware, Captain Edmund Cantwell, the sheriff, and all the other magistrates in office at the time of the Dutch conquest, were reinstated, except Alrichs, who had offered them his friendship on their first coming, and had acted violently as their chief officer. Captain Carr, the former English commander, had now gone to Maryland, and his estate was seized. Andros also informed Governor Calvert that he had directed his officers on the Delaware to prevent any injuries to the neighboring colonies, and did "not doubt the like on the Governor of Maryland's part."

* Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 65, 66, 67, 74, 75; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 27-31; Col. MSS., xxiv., 73, 76, 77-84; Col. Doc., ii., 738-744; iii., 237; v., 496; vii., 586; Val. Man., 186, 231, 332; 1861, 605-607; Minutes of C. C., vol. i., 9-11; *ante*, 46, 47, 260.

† Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 19, 21, 77, 84; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 36-38; Col. MSS., xxiv., 6, 16-18, 92, 93, 100-102; Hough's Nantucket Papers, 60-88; *ante*, 179, 211.

The murder of Doctor Roades by the Indians, and other important matters, requiring his own presence on the Delaware, the governor went thither, through New Jersey; thirty horses being furnished for his journey by Governor Carteret. After settling matters there, and writing to Lord Baltimore, Andros returned to New York, where Brockholls had acted for him during his absence.*

The Diamond and the Castle frigates were sent back to England, the latter with a load of timber for the king's dock-yard. Its value was allowed to the duke; who nevertheless found himself more than two thousand pounds out of pocket on account of the expedition "for the repossession New York." Andros soon afterward received James's autograph reply to his letters of the previous November and December. His conduct was approved, especially in reducing to obedience the three "factious towns at the east end of Long Island," which he was to treat so that their people should "be without apprehensions of any injustice towards them." In regard to "General Assemblies, which the people there seeme desirous of, in imitation of their neighbour Colonies, I thinke," wrote the duke, "you have done well to discourage any motion of that kind; both as being not at all comprehended in your Instructions, nor indeed consistent with the forme of government already established, nor necessary for the ease or redresse of any grievance that may happen; since that may be as easily obtained by any petition or other addresse to you, at their Generall Assizes, (which is once a yeare,) where the same persons (as Justices) are usually present, who in all probability would be their representatives if another constitution were allowed." The question of an Assembly had been raised under Nicolls and Lovelace:—but James now clearly announced his disapprobation.†

Respecting the boundary arrangement with Connecticut in 1664, the duke thought it best "only to make accommodations of this kind temporary, if possible, to preserve the utmost limitts for me that my Patent gives me a title to."

* Connell Min., iii. (ii.), l. 35; Gen. Ent., iv., 305, 306; Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 34, 69, 80, 81, 82-92; Col. MSS., xx., 50-65; xxiv., 57, 165; xxv., 54; Col. Doc., ii., 597, 659; iii., 263, 233, 254; Hazard's Reg. Penn., i., 93; iv., 54; Ann. Penn., 328, 413-418; ante, 190, 234, 254.

† Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 51, 60, 70, 72; Col. Doc., iii., 250, 231, 232, 237; Chalmers's Annals, i., 551; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 115; ante, 64, 68, 69, 190.

CHAP. VI.

1675.
3 May.1 April.
20 April.
Timber
sent to En-
gland.6 April.
The duke's
letter to
Andros.A popular
Assembly
disap-
proved by
James.6 April.
The Duke
of York
disallows
the Con-
necticut
boundary.

CHAP. VI. But Andros had already acted on that subject. Connecticut had recently appointed commissioners "to run the lyne between this Colony and the Colony of New York, from Momoronock River to Hudson's River;"—which she had

1675. done in violation of the clear understanding that she was not to approach that river nearer than twenty miles. Seeing that the king, in 1674, had again granted to the Duke of York the territory as far east as the Connecticut River, Andros sent to the General Court at Hartford copies of the duke's patent and of his own commission, and requested them to give orders for his receiving that part of his royal highness's territories as yet under their jurisdiction.*

1 May.

17 May. The Connecticut Court, in answer, set up their charter from the king, and the boundary arrangement of 1664. Andros replied that the award by the royal commissioners "was an evident surprise," and "never confirmed;" and that whatever pretenses Connecticut had made before 1674 were "sufficiently cleared by His Majesty's reiterated Letters Patents." He therefore again demanded possession, and protested against all who might thus disobey their king's commands. Connecticut rejoined, denying any "undue surprise" in the boundary determination, and insisting on her own charter. The New York Council thereupon resolved that such disobedience to the king's pleasure as expressed in his patent to the duke was "rebellion."†

25 May.
Andros
maintains
the rights
of New
York.

16 June.

28 June.

30 June.
2 July.
Salisbury
dispatched
to England.

Andros now sent Captain Salisbury with dispatches to the duke and Sir John Werden, and directed him to inform them fully of every thing relating to New York; especially about its people, their trade, the French in Canada; the "Bostoners' trading-house at Springfield," and their claiming "to Albany itself;" and of the recent contempt of the duke's authority in "that part of His Royal Highnesses' territories as yet under Connecticut, their many harbors, and plenty of corn and provisions." By the same vessel, Steenwyck and his associates, who had been bound over for trial, sent a memorial to the Dutch States General, setting forth their own hard case.‡

* Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 2, 3, 112-114; Col. Doc., iii., 215, 231, 235; vii., 537; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 242, 569; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 116; *ante*, 55, 56, 255.

† Council Min., iii (ii.), 39, 41, 42; Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 104, 115, 116; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 252, 570-574, 581; Col. Doc., iii., 235, 236, 238; Col. MSS., xiv., 121.

‡ Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 106, 116; Col. Doc., ii., 739, 744; iii., 234, 235, 236, 237, 415.

In this posture of affairs, intelligence reached New York CHAP. VI. that the Wampanoags and Narragansetts, who owned most of the territory of Rhode Island, had revolted against the Europeans. The Narragansett sachem, Ninigret, had been suspected, in 1669, of plotting against the English colonists. Two years afterward, Metacomet, or Philip, the sachem of the Wampanoags, who inhabited the region of Pokanoket, Philip of Pokanoket. around the eastern and northern shores of Narragansett Bay, was obliged to give up most of his guns and acknowledge his subjection to the Plymouth government. This galled the soul of the American chief. He was the youngest son of Massasoit, who had made the first treaty with the English "Pilgrims." Massasoit's eldest son, Wamsutta, or Alexander, succeeded to the sachemship; but he soon followed his father to the grave, broken-hearted, at being dragged a prisoner to answer before the European new-comers at Plymouth. Philip was a youth when he became sachem in place of Wamsutta. Yet he had heard of the prompt kindness of his father, Massasoit, to the forlorn English Pilgrims, and naturally contrasted it with the characteristic arrogance which repaid savage hospitality with British truculence. He saw that the Europeans had crowded his people into narrow necks of land, where they were jealously watched. In vain had Eliot and Mayhew solicited the Wampanoags to become Christians. The well-remembered injunctions of Massasoit kept the tribe firm in heathenism. A few savages were nevertheless converted. Among these was John Sausaman, who, after being partially educated at Cambridge, relapsed from Christianity, and was employed by Philip as his secretary. The Puritan colonists had generally disregarded the feelings of the Americans. Instead of adopting the conciliatory policy of New Netherland and New York toward the natives, they followed—without any warrant from the God of Israel—the aggressive method of that peculiar host which went out of Egypt to possess the promised land. New England policy. As Puritanism had already exterminated or sold the Pequods, so it now doomed the other native owners of New England to destruction or bondage. The pride of the aborigines was wounded without remorse; for the white English Pharisee, holding the imported black African in slavery, would not

1675.

CHAP. VI. brook the equality of the noble red American, whose lands he covetously appropriated. While at Albany the autochthones of America were addressed as "Brothers," every where in New England, except in Rhode Island, they were offensively reminded of their inferiority. These memories stirred the mind of Philip. Cautiously visiting the neighboring tribes, he urged them to drive out the destroyers of their race. The Narragansetts were won by his eloquence; and secret preparations were made for a rising of the native Americans against their British foes in the spring of 1676.*

Philip prepares for war.

1675.

29 Jan'y.
John Sausaman murdered.

8 June.
Indians tried and executed at Plymouth.

Rhode Island magistrates visit Philip.

An unexpected event precipitated the crisis. Sausaman, reclaimed from his apostasy by Eliot, revealed Philip's plot to the Plymouth governor. Not long afterward the informer's body was found under the ice in Assawomsett Pond, midway between Plymouth and Rhode Island. It was suspected by the English that the savages had punished, after their own laws, a renegade and a traitor. Three of Philip's subjects were accordingly tried at Plymouth; convicted of the murder of Sausaman; and executed. The Wampanoag chief now remained on guard within his strong-hold at Mount Hope, near Bristol, in Rhode Island. There he soon gathered seven hundred warriors, the younger of whom were eager to avenge the death of their three countrymen by the forms of Puritan law, which they did not recognize. They were restrained from attacking by a belief that the side which shed the first blood in the strife would be conquered.† Hoping to prevent hostilities, John Easton, "Deputy Governor," and several magistrates of Rhode Island—which colony had always been friendly with the Indians—visited Philip at the Ferry. "We sat," wrote the honest Quaker, "very friendly together. We told him our business was to endeavour that they might not receive or do wrong. They said that was well: they

* Bradford's Plymouth, 94-97; Hutch. Mass., i, 275-285; Colden, i, 40; Mather's Magnalia (ed. 1853), ii, 429, 430, 434, 558, 559; Mather's History of New England (ed. 1844), 226-234; Easton's Narrative of Philip's Indian War (ed. 1858), viii.-xii., 3, 6, 12-14, 32-39; Court of Assizes, ii, 678; Holmes, i, 225, 369, 381; Belknap, i, 102-107; Bancroft, ii, 92, 100; Palfrey, iii, 141-151, 218, 221, 298; Arnold's Rhode Island, i, 23, 57, 212, 333, 387-393; Plymouth Col. Rec., v., 76-80; Hazard, ii, 531-534; Moore's Notes on Slavery in Massachusetts; ante, i, 171; ii, 155, 156, 254.

† Hutchinsen, i, 286, *note*, calls this "a whimsical opinion." It certainly was the converse of the angury prevailing in the Highlands of Scotland:

"Which spills the foremost foe-man's life,

That party conquers in the strife."—*Lady of the Lake*, Canto iv., v.

had done no wrong; the English wronged them. We said, CHAP. VI.
 we knew the English said the Indians wronged them and 1675.
 the Indians said the English wronged them; but our desire was the quarrel might rightly be decided in the best way, and not as dogs decided their quarrels." The Indians then asked "how right might take place?" The Rhode Islanders proposed arbitration. The Americans replied that all the English were "agreed against them," and would insist upon English arbitrators, by whom they already had much wrong. The Rhode Island men suggested that they might choose an Indian king, and the English the governor of New York, both of whom would be indifferent. This pleased the savages; and "if that way had been tendered, they would have accepted." Philip then told the grievances of his people. When the first colonists came, his father, Massasoit, "was as a great man, and the English as a little child," to whom he freely did good; but now the Americans were insulted and cheated in bargains, until "they had no hopes left to keep any land." Again the Rhode Island men urged the Indians to accept the arbitration of Andros and a native king; to which they did not object. Easton and his friends then endeavored to persuade them "to lay down the war; for the English were too strong for them." With logic as keen as it was just, Philip replied, "then the English should do to them as they did when they were too strong for the English." So ended this memorable interview. It was a virtual protest, by Rhode Island and Philip, against the doctrine of the Puritan colonists of New England, that they were the sole judges between themselves and Americans. If those colonies had accepted the arbitration of Andros and a native chief, justice might have been done, and war avoided.*

Arbitration proposed.

Philip's reply.

Philip's young men could not be restrained. Some of them plundered a house at Swansey, within the Plymouth government, and one of the marauders was killed by an

20 June.
Hostilities begin.

* Plymouth Col. Rec., v., 167-174; Mather's Early History, 235-237; Mather's War, 48-53; Magnalia, ii., 559, 560; Hutch., i., 284-286; Bayley's Plymouth, ii., 27; Easton's Narrative, by Hough, 1-15; "A true Relation," etc., in N. Y. Col. MSS., xxv., 29. This Rhode Island negotiation with Philip is not noticed by most New England writers. Mr. Palfrey, *ibid.*, 180, *note*, pronounces that Easton's Narrative adds "nothing of importance" to our historical knowledge; and in a note to page 227, he says of the speech of Philip to John Borden, given in Arnold, i., 294, 295, "I have made no account of it. It is no material for history." Perhaps a New Yorker may venture to dissent from this Massachusetts judgment.

CHAP. VI. Englishman. This made the savages hope that they would triumph in the end, because the English had shed the first blood. Swansey was attacked, and several of its inhabitants killed. Massachusetts and Plymouth called out large

1675.
24 June.

29 June. forces. An express was sent to Hartford for aid, and Winthrop dispatched the news to Andros at New York.*

1 July.
Action of
New York.

The Metropolitan Council thought "that Connecticut doth not expect nor desire assistance from us in relation to the Indian disturbances at this time." But it was "Resolved that the Governor do proceed on his intended voyage to Connecticut forthwith, and do take a force with him to be in a capacity to protect that part of His Royal Highness's Government, as there may be occasions." So, Andros wrote to Winthrop:—"I am very much troubled at the Christians' misfortunes and hard disasters in those parts, being so overpowered by such heathen. Hereupon, I have hastened my coming to your parts, and added a force to be ready to take such resolutions as may be fit for me upon this extraordinary occasion, with which I intend, God willing, to set out this evening, and to make the best of my way to Connecticut River, His Royall Highnesses bounds there."†

4 July.
Andros's
letter to
Winthrop.

7 July.
Action of
Connecticut.

Andros's letter made great trouble at Hartford. The Council of War hastened Captain Thomas Bull to Saybrook, and recalled the forces sent forward to fight against Philip. Bull's instructions were cunningly drawn. He was to keep Saybrook and its neighborhood from any enemy, "by force of arms," if necessary; and while his orders appeared to require him to repel the savages only, they really meant that the officers of the Duke of York were to be treated as the special foes of Connecticut.‡

8 July.
Andros at
Saybrook.

The next morning, Andros, with three sloops, appeared off Saybrook, and desired a "direct and effectual answer" to his former letters. Meanwhile the Hartford authorities had ordered their subordinates at Saybrook to "carry it warily and prudently" with Andros, forbid his landing, and advise him to send his forces eastward and assist the

* Mather's History, 53-58; Magnalia, ii., 561; Hutch., i., 286, 287; Hough's Easton, 16-21, 40-43; Barry, i., 410, 411; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxx., 117, 118; R. I. H. S. Coll., iv., 127; Col. MSS., xxiv., 119, 121; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 332, 379; Palfrey, iii., 129, 155.

† Council Min., iii. (ii.), 44; Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 117; Col. MSS., xxiv., 121; Hough's Easton, 44-48; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 379; Col. Dec., iii., 254, 264; Palfrey, iii., 129.

‡ Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 333, 379.

"good people" at Seaconk or Swansey. The next day they wrote to Andros himself, resenting his "hypothetical expressions and injurious imputations," and desiring him not to "molest" the king's good subjects in Connecticut, or put them "into a discomposure, at such a time as this." They also drew up "a Protest," denouncing the governor of New York as a disturber of the king's peace, and appealing to the Connecticut charter as their warrant for refusing obedience to the duke's representative.*

CHAP. VI.

1675.

9 July.
Connecticut pro-
tests
against
discompos-
ure by An-
dros.

Andros had meanwhile remained quietly at Saybrook, anxious about his suffering countrymen at the East, to whom he sent forward a sloop with supplies; and wondering that the Connecticut forces did not move to their relief. When the dispatches from Hartford were communicated to him, the governor landed, with his attendants, and was received by the Connecticut officials, who desired "to tender him a treaty." This Andros declined; but he ordered the Duke of York's patent and his own commission to be read; which was accomplished, while the Connecticut officials "withdrew a little," declaring that they "had nothing to do to attend it." Andros then told them that he had now done, and would sail immediately unless they desired him to stay. The Connecticut officers answered that they were not ordered to ask him to remain; and they then read the protest of the Hartford authorities. This Andros at once denounced as "a slander, and so an ill requital for his kindness;" and being refused a copy of it, he went on board his sloop again, and sailed to Long Island, whence he intended to send a force to Martin's Vineyard, and then to return to New York. As he passed below the fort, salutes were fired on both sides.†

13 July.
Andros
lands at
Saybrook.

His com-
mission
read.

The Hart-
ford protest
"a slan-
der."

The Hartford authorities regretted that their subordinates at Saybrook had not interrupted Andros "in commanding there so usurpingly;" which "might have been done by shouts, or sound of drum, etc., without vio-

14 July.
Action of
Connecticut.

* Col. MSS., xxiv., 121; Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 118, 119; Hough's Easton, 49-56; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 260-263, 334, 335, 379, 550, 581; Trumbull, i., 329, 339; Palfrey, iii., 129, 130; *ante*, 280.

† Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 582, 583, 584; Col. Doc., iii., 254, 264, 415; Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 119, 120; Hough's Easton, 56-60; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxvii., 137; Palfrey, iii., 130, 131. The romantic account of this transaction, which the Reverend Doctor Trumbull has dressed up in his History of Connecticut, i., 328-330, is so erroneous that Mr. Palfrey is "obliged to omit some striking circumstances in the sketch by that usually cautious historian." Hist. N. E., iii., 151, *note*.

CHAP. VI.

1675.
24 July.

lence.”* An elaborate “narrative” of the Connecticut version was sent to Major Robert Thompson, of Newington Green, near London, with a request for his help against Andros, who, it was thought, “must be necessitated to misrepresent” the colony.†

14 July.
New York
soldiers
sent to
Martha's
Vineyard
and Nantucket.

Andros, meanwhile, went over to Southold, whence he dispatched a sloop, with some soldiers and ammunition, to Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. “To satisfy the great jealousy” of his neighbors, the governor came through Long Island to New York, disarming the Indians every where, and reviewing all the militia. On his reporting “the several passages of his voyage,” the council resolved that the several towns on Long Island should maintain a good watch, and take care that the disarmed Indians “be not any wise injured, but assisted, upon any occasion requiring it.”‡

24 July.
Long Isl-
and In-
dians.23 July.
New Jersey
Indians.

The governor also sent for all the Indian sachems of New Jersey and other parts, most of whom had been with him before, and they all “again renewed their submissions and engagements.”§

5 August.
New York
lands offer-
ed to emi-
grants
from Eu-
rope.

At the same time, Andros did not neglect the immediate interests of the province. Accordingly, the council, “upon a proposal to give public notice what encouragement will be given to persons that shall come out of Europe hither, to inhabite and plant in this His Royal Highness's Province, Resolved that every freeman shall have for himself the proportion of sixty acres of land of inheritance, and for his wife and every child fifty acres per head; and every working servant that shall be brought over shall have each of them fifty acres after the expiration of their service, according to the custom of the country.” A copy of this order was sent to England by the ship *Good Hope*.

* Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 335, 384. It would seem that this hint was remembered in 1693, when Fletcher, one of the successors of Andros, visited Hartford; although the “tradition” related by Doctor Trumbull, i., 393, does not agree with the official account in Col. Doc., iv., 69-71.

† Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 96, 103, 263, 264, 333-344; iii., 261; Trumbull, i., 331; Mass. Rec., v., 408, 409, 426, 467; Hetch. Coll., 449, 463, 469, 473; Col. Doc., iii., 355. Winthrop, who intended to take the Connecticut “Narrative” to England, died at Boston on the 5th of April, 1676; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 273; Palfrey, iii., 232-238.

‡ Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 119, 120, 121; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 44; Hough's Easton, 54-64; Col. Doc., iii., 254, 264. On the 21st of July, Governor Coddington, of Rhode Island, complained to Andros of the invasion of its territory by Massachusetts and Connecticut; Col. MSS., xxiv., 128.

§ Col. MSS., xxiv., 117, 130; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 44; Dunlap, ii., App., cxxii.; Col. Doc., iii., 254; Hough's Easton, 76.

Captain George Heathcote, a Quaker, who had been imprisoned at Boston by Governor Bellingham "for delivering him a letter, and not putting off his hat."^{*} CHAT. VI.
1675.

The intrigues of the French missionaries, Bruyas and Lamberville, among the Iroquois, having caused complaints, the council resolved that the Mohawks should be encouraged to friendship, and the Jesuits be sent for, to explain themselves at Albany. Leaving Brockholls in charge at New York, Andros now went up the river. After regulating affairs at Schenectady, he visited the "most warlike Indians near one hundred miles beyond;" and at Tiomontoguen, the third castle of the Mohawks, he accepted the name of "Corlaer," who, they told him, was "a man that was of good dispositions and esteemed deare amongst us."[†] On his return to Albany, the Five Iroquois nations applied to Andros "declaring their former alliance, and now submitted in an extraordinary manner, with reiterated promises." Perhaps the governor's most important measure at this time was to organize a local board of commissioners for Indian affairs, composed of some of the Albany officers.[‡] Of this board he appointed as secretary the town clerk of Albany, Robert Livingston, a shrewd young Scotchman, who had come over from Rotterdam the year before, and who was destined to become prominent in colonial affairs.[§] 16 April.

30 August.
Andros visits the Mohawks, and receives the name of "Corlaer."

Indian commissioners at Albany.
R. Livingston, secretary.

The Council now "Resolved that we ought not to break with our Indians upon account of the war between our neighbors and their Indians." The selling of powder to 10 Septem.
Indian crders.

* Council Min., iii. (ii.), 45, 46; Col. MSS., xxiv., 127; xxv., 25-42, 221, 235-241; Farmer and Moore's Coll., iii., 190; Besse, ii., 259; C. Wolley, 12, 57; Holmes, i., 377.

† This name "Corlaer" was given by the Iroquois to the governors of New York, until, in 1693, they made a special one for Fletcher: compare Col. Doc., iii., 254, 322, 327, 355, 559; iv., 22, 85; Colden, i., 32, 41; *ante*, 121.

‡ Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 77, 122, 125, 126, 129, 224, 225; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 34; Col. Doc., iii., 254, 323, 559; Hist. Mag., ii. (d.), 391. Regular minutes were kept of the transactions of the Albany commissioners, beginning with 1675, which in 1751 were bound up in four large folio volumes. But they have disappeared from our State Archives: see Colden, i., Preface, ix., 94; Smith, i., 251, *note*; Col. Doc., i., Gen. Introd., viii., xxxi.; v., 983, *note*; vi., 439, 731, 739.

§ Col. MSS., xxiv., 140. Robert Livingston was born on 13 December, 1654, at Ancram, in Roxburghshire, Scotland, where his father, the Rev. John Livingston, was the Presbyterian minister. After the Restoration the father went to Rotterdam, where he died on 9th of August, 1672. After his father's death, Robert, who had learned the Dutch language, came to Albany, probably accompanying Domine Van Rensselaer thither in the autumn of 1674: *ante*, 272. There is a biographical sketch of him in Doc. Hist., iii., 434: see also Col. Doc., iii., 315, 401, 609; iv., 203, 251, 253, 729; v., 196; Smith, i., 142, *note*; Sedgwick's Life of W. Livingston; Hunt's Life of E. Livingston.

CHAP. VI.

1675.
16 Septem.New York
sloop in the
Sound.
23 Septem.
Guns sent
to Martha's
Vineyard
and Nantucket.

the savages was "regulated as formerly;" each town was to provide a block-house as a refuge for women and children; and all New York Indians were to be "friendly treated, and have equall justice according to law." A sloop was also ordered to cruise in the Sound; and, as the natives were very strong near Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, great guns were sent to each of those islands. These measures, however, made Connecticut fear that Andros would again threaten Saybrook.*

Case of
Domine
Nicolaus
van Rensselaer.

Domine Nicolaus van Rensselaer, who had come from London under the special patronage of the Duke of York, was soon afterward inducted by Andros to minister in the Reformed Dutch Church at Albany, as a colleague of Domine Schaats. This was done without regard to the Classis of Amsterdam, which governed the Reformed Dutch churches in New York, under the eighth article of the capitulation of 1664, confirmed by Andros's stipulation with Colve. It occasioned much ill feeling, and Van Rensselaer was forbidden to baptize children in the metropolitan Reformed Dutch Church by Domine Van Nieuwenhuysen, who denied the lawfulness of his induction at Albany. Instead of showing that he had been ordained as a minister in Holland, Van Rensselaer complained to Andros that the Church of England and the Duke of York's recommendation had been contemned. Van Nieuwenhuysen was summoned to explain himself before the Council. He admitted the validity of English Episcopal ordination, but insisted that every minister serving any Reformed Dutch congregation in the king's dominions must promise conformity to the Holland Church. This explanation was accepted; and Van Rensselaer, having solemnly promised to conduct his ministry "conformably to the public Church service and discipline of the Reformed Church of Holland," the question was satisfactorily adjusted.†

25 Septem.

30 Septem.

1 October.

2 October.

* Council Min., iii. (ii.), 50, 51, 52, 57; Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 132, 133, 134; Col. MSS., xxiv., 133, 139, 141; Hough's Philip's War, 71-82; Nantucket Papers, 83, 89; Rec. Conn., ii., 369-371; C. Woll., x, 95; *ante*, 278.

† Corr. Cl. Amst., Letter of Van Nieuwenhuysen of 30 May, 1676, and Inclosures; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 54-59; Doc. Hist., iii., 526, 527; Col. Doc., iii., 225; Col. MSS., xxiv., 150; Yorkers Gazette, 21 October, 1665; Hist. Mag., ix., 352, 353; N. Y. Christ. Int., 2 November, 1865; *ante*, 270, 272. The account of this matter in Smith, i., 49, 50, is very erroneous. Domine Van Rensselaer improved his visit to New York by procuring Andros to appoint him director of Rensselaerwyck in place of his deceased brother, Jerenias; Col. MSS., xxiv., 150; xxv., 145. The domine married Alida, daughter of Philip Pietersen Schuyler, of Albany, and died there in November, 1678; O'Call., i., 212; ii., 552; Helgato, 40, 42, 163; *ante*, i., 562.

At the first regular session of the Court of Assizes under Andros, the case of Steenwyck and his Dutch associates, who had been bound over for "sedition," was taken up, and De Peyster was acquitted on his taking the oath. The other seven were convicted of "not being obedient to His Majesty's laws," in having traded without taking the oath, in violation of the act of Parliament. Their goods were accordingly forfeited; but eventually all penalties were remitted upon the prisoners taking the required oaths. Thus ended the question; and on the proclamation of the new mayor, William Dervall, the inhabitants of the metropolis who had hitherto refused, came forward and swore allegiance to English authority.*

Among other things, the Court of Assizes—upon the petition of the coopers of South and East Hampton, on Long Island, that, owing to their "great deceit," stranger coopers should not come from Boston and work there in the winter—Ordered "that noe cooper shall be admitted to make casks without the consent of the magistrates" of the respective towns. A yearly fair for grain, cattle, or other produce, was established "at Breucklyn, neare the ferry." By reason of its separation by water, it was ordered that "Staten Island shall have a jurisdiction of itself, and to have noe farther dependance on the courts of Long Island;" and John Palmer was appointed its "Ranger." Palmer was an English lawyer, who had recently come to New York from Barbadoes. A double rate was also levied "upon all those townes that have not already a sufficient maintenance for a minister."†

The New York Court ordered all canoes east of Hell Gate to be laid up, because the savages were said to be plotting to attack the English as far west as Greenwich. Brockholls was also sent to Albany with "reiterated orders" for the advantage of Connecticut. The burning of Hadley, Deerfield, Northfield, and Springfield induced An-

* Col. MSS., xxiv., 172-178, 186, 196; xxv., 1, 2, 5-14; Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 142, 157; Min. of Common Council, i., 9-11; Col. Doc., iii., 253, 257, 259; *ante*, 277, 278. Dervall now succeeded Nicolls as mayor of New York, and John Sharpe was made sheriff. Samuel Leete was appointed clerk of the city and of the Court of Assizes: Min. of C. C., i., 1, 2, 9; Val. Man., 1845, 309, 331, 332; *ante*, 252, 273.

† Col. MSS., xxiv., 164, 185; xxv., 50; xxvi., 155; xxvii., 35, 36, 57, 59; Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 196; N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 425-428; Val. Man., 1-14-5, 310, 311; Yonkers Gazette, 25 Nov., 1-65; Stillé's Brooklyn, i., 158. Palmer afterward rose to distinction in New York and New England, in both of which he was made a judge.

CHAP. VI. dros to think of encouraging the Iroquois to attack the Eastern savages. But, as the Mohawks had renewed their former peace with the Mahicans "without leave," it was ordered to be kept. It was farther directed "that there be at this juncture a prohibition of selling powder and lead to any Indians whatsoever at Albany, unless it be to the Maquas and Senecas." The commander there might, however, allow a small quantity to be sold to any well known Mahican beaver-hunter. As the magistrates at Esopus had shown great apprehension of the Indians, they were reprov'd "for their needlesse feares." But they were required to explain what was meant by the savages offering to deliver up the articles made between Nicolls and them in 1665, and which had "been renewed with those Indians this very spring."*

24 October.
Orders
about
powder.

Esopus
affairs.

2 Novem.
New York
sends sup-
plies to
Rhode Isl-
and.

19 Decem.
Narragan-
sett fight.

1676. The confederated colonies having declared war against the Narragansetts, Andros spontaneously sent six barrels of powder and other ammunition to Rhode Island, "which they thankfully accepted, and afterwards lent part of it to New England forces in want, at their fight in Narragansett country." In this engagement nearly a thousand savages and two hundred English colonists were killed and wounded. The Rhode Island Quakers still desired the arbitration of the governor of New York; thinking that Puritanic New England ministers had urged on hostilities, "and that the war had not been, if there had not been a hireling, that, for his money, giving, what he calleth the Gospel, by violence." Governor Coddington, of Rhode Island, accordingly rebuked Massachusetts for having "departed from the Lord."†

1675. Nehemiah Pierce and James Pennymen, charged with "writing false storeys to Boston," were sent down from Albany to New York, and bound over. Massachusetts, on similar information, published a declaration that Philip had been "supplied with ammunition from Albany, whereby

9 Jan'y.
Rhode Isl-
and re-
bukes Mas-
sachusetts.

8 Novem.
Pierce and
Pennymen.
7 Decem.

* Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 139, 141, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 148, 151, 155, 156; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 65, 66; Col. MSS., xxiv., 157, 172; N. Y. H. S. Coll., i., 425-428; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 372-378; Col. Dec., iii., 254, 264; Wood's L. L., 59; Hough's Philip, 82-119; Hutch. Mass., i., 294, 295; Trumbull, i., 332-335; Holland's Western Mass., i., 96, 100; ante, 59, 181, 192.

† Col. Dec., iii., 254, 265; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 353-394; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 74; Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 169; Hough's Philip's War, 26-31, 125, 129-135; Hutch. Mass., i., 297-300; Trumbull, i., 357-342; Arnold, i., 401-406; Col. MSS., xxv., 67.

he was enabled to prosecute his bloody design against the English." This was such an "aspersion" that Andros sent an express to Boston to vindicate the duke's government. The Puritan Bostonians cleared the magistrates of New York, yet continued to asperse her people "without any known cause, complaint, or notice." The metropolitan council thereupon resolved "That for the present no further application be made to the Government of Boston." Andros's action was "very well looked on" in London.*

CHAP. VI.

1676.

17 Jan'y.
24 Jan'y.
Massachu-
setts con-
tinues to
"a-perse"
New York
24 Febr'y.

Philip being now reported within forty or fifty miles of Albany, Andros sent fresh orders to Brockholls, and again notified the Hartford authorities. They prudently suggested that the Mohawks should be employed to "utterly extirpate" the natives in New England, and hinted that Albany had supplied the "common enemy" with arms or ammunition. Andros satirically repelled this "great reflection on the Dutch," and demanded explanations. The Connecticut Council could only give rumors. The governor then demanded whether Connecticut would allow the New York Iroquois to pursue their enemies in her territory? This she declined, but suggested that the Mohawks had better attack Philip "near Albany."†

13 Jan'y.
Connecti-
cut and
20 Jan'y.

4 Febr'y.
New York
about
Philip.
10 Febr'y.

Good correspondence, however, was maintained between New York and Rhode Island, the people of which were informed "that any in their parts driven by the Indians from their habitations or plantations shall be welcome here, and have land assigned them upon this, Long Island, or Staten Island." But Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Plymouth, having shown no desire for the friendship of New York, the council resolved "to continue our endeavors as Christians and the King's subjects, for the good of this Government, without further application to the said Colonies." The governor was also advised to "go forthwith to Albany, to settle matters there, it being of very great import;" as news had just come of the Mohawks "being moved in a warlike manner against the North Indians."‡

17 Jan'y.
Friendship
between
New York
and Rhode
Island.

26 Febr'y.
New York
"Christi-
ans" re-
prove New
England
Puritans.

The Hudson having opened unexpectedly soon, Andros

* Council Min., iii. (il.), 68, 69, 70, 81, 85; Col. Doc., iii., 238, 242, 254, 253, 266, 267; Hough's Philip's War, 120-142; Hutch. Coll., 476-490; Mather's War, 117, 129, 254.

† Col. Doc., iii., 253, 265; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 397, 398, 404, 406, 407; Hutch. Mass., I., 205; Palfrey, iii., 229.

‡ Council Min., iii. (il.), 81, 85, 86, 97; Col. MSS., xxv., 81; Hough's Philip's War, 136, 137, 143-147, 160, 161.

- CHAP. VI. went up to Albany with six sloops and additional men. He found that some three hundred Mohawks had just returned from the pursuit of Philip, and had brought back several scalps. They had been supplied with arms and ammunition by Brockholls, who had also received their old sacheens, squaws, and children within Albany. Lieutenant Tennise was at once dispatched "to the farthest part of the Government, or as far as Connecticut River," to demand from Philip any Christian prisoners. The governor also directed William Loveridge to be arrested for having slanderously affirmed that the Dutch inhabitants of Albany had supplied the North Indians with arms and ammunition. Sergeant Sharpe was left in command of the garrison, as Brockholls was needed at New York.*
- 4 March. Connecticut had meanwhile asked to be allowed to talk with the Iroquois at Albany, and threatened that, if her "historians" should report to England, the conduct of Andros "would look dark, and be displeasing both to His Majesty and all true Englishmen; yea, His Highness would take no pleasure in the consequences of such services by his ministers." Samuel Willys and William Pitkin came on her behalf to ask the desired permission. After full explanations before the council, the Connecticut agents were told that New York had already "taken fitting orders" with regard to its own Indians, and that it was "strange" that their colony, which had been so jealous about all their own concerns, should "ask to treat with any branch of this Government apart." Andros also wrote that he was ready to do all he could to procure a peace between the Connecticut authorities and their savage enemies, "and wholly to remove all manner of jealousys, shall suspend all further demands of that part of your colony claimed by His Royal Highness, (to remain as it is,) 'till a determination from England."†
- 11 March. Loveridge arrested for slander.
- 27 March.
- 3 April.
- 7 March.
- 19 March. Connecticut agents at New York.
- 1 April.
- 10 April. Answer of New York.
- 10 April.
- 5 May. To carry out his humane intentions toward Rhode Island, the governor sent his sloop there to bring back as

* Col. Dec., iii., 255, 265, 708; Council Min., iii. (il.), 87, 101; Warr., Ord., Passes, etc., 146, 223; Col. MSS., xxv., 88, 90, 184; Hough's Philip's War, 103, 148-153, 167.

† Council Min., iii. (il.), 90-92; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 414, 419, 429, 426, 435, 436, 457; Col. Dec., iii., 255, 265; Hough's Philip's War, 155-159. The Connecticut correspondence was now conducted by her new governor, William Leete, who succeeded the deceased Winthrop. Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 273; Trembail, i., 345, 349; Palfrey, iii., 232-238; Arnold, i., 411, 412; N. Y. H. S. Coll. (1869), 374-376; ante, 256, note.

many of her people as wished to come to New York. At the same time, it was "Ordered that upon this extraordinary occasion of the warre, and other late intelligences, the severall townes upon Long Island be sent to, to represent the same unto the inhabitants, in order to a levy, and to know what they will give towards a supply." Collector Dyer was accordingly dispatched to urge each town to grant "such a suitable supply as may be proper." But this appeal was poorly answered. The contribution, like that proposed by Lovelace in 1672, was viewed as "a kind of benevolence—the badge of bad times."²⁸

CHAP. VI.

1676.

Friendly
action of
New York
toward
Rhode Isl.
and.

8 May.

13 May.

On Salisbury's return, Andros received fresh instructions from the Duke of York. Referring to his former directions of the 6th of April, 1675, concerning Assemblies, James added, "I have since observed what several of your latest letters hint about that matter. But unless you had offered what qualifications are usual and proper to such Assemblies, I cannot but suspect they would be of dangerous consequence; nothing being more knowne than the aptness of such bodies to assume to themselves many privileges which prove destructive to, or very oft disturbe the peace of the government wherein they are allowed. Neither do I see any use of them, which is not as well provided for, whilst you and your council govern according to the laws established (thereby preserving every man's property inviolate), and whilst all things that need redresse may be sure of finding it, either at the Quarter Sessions or by other legall and ordinary wayes; or lastly by appeal to mysele. But, howsoever, if you continue of the same opinion, I shall be ready to consider of any proposalls you shall send to that purpose."

28 Jan'y.
The Duke
of York
again dis-
approves
of Assem-
blies.

At the same time the duke approved of Andros's demand "of all the land on the west side of Connecticut River." "But," he added, "at the present, for other reasons, I am not willing you should proceed further, in regard I hope for hereafter more convenient means of adjusting the boundaries in those parts; and in the interim, though the agreement by the Commissioners in 1664 were never confirmed by me, I soe far approve of the prudence of Colonel

28 Jan'y.
The duke
sustains
Andros's
action
about Con-
necticut.

* Council Min., iii. (ii.), 94, 95; Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 193; Hough's Philip, 137, 160-163; Smith, i., 51; ante, 171, 188.

CHAP. VI. Nicolls, at that time, as to admitt by no means of any nearer access of those of Connecticut than to the mouth of Marinac (or Mamaronocke) River, and along the edge of it; provided they come to noe place within twenty miles distance of Hudsons' River. But this I hint to you only for the present, not intending thereby to conclude myself as to the right of the case." Secretary Werden wrote more fully that the duke was "willing things should rest as they are at present; but he is not sorry you have revived this claim, because possibly some good use may be hereafter made of it." Werden also called Andros to account for permitting "the Bostoners and other strangers to go up in their small vessells to Esopus and Albany and elsewhere, as freely as the very natural subjects of his Royal Highness's Colony," which was "a new thing," forbidden by Lovelace, and to the disadvantage of the metropolis.*

Secretary
Werden's
directions.

31 Jan'y.
"Boston-
ers" on the
North
River.

News having come that Massachusetts was making a separate peace with the North Indians, the Council resolved that the Mohawks should be restrained from farther prosecuting them, and that arms be restored to the Long Island savages. As Connecticut was advising with Uncas about sending a present to the Mohawks, they were summoned to meet the governor at Albany. The Mahican and other eastward Indians were also invited to come in, and "live under the protection of the Government," as both Canada and Connecticut had solicited them.†

23 May.

30 May.
The Iro-
quois sum-
moned to
meet An-
dros at
Albany.

June.
Fort and
officers at
Albany.

At Albany the governor built a new stockaded fort, with four bastions, and mounted twelve guns, so as to defend and command the whole town. Salisbury, who was a favorite of the duke, was now reinstated in his old place of commander, Sergeant Sharpe remaining under his orders. The local militia was put under Captain Goosen Gerritsen van Schaick, and Lieutenants Martin Gerritsen and Jan Jansen Bleecker.

Andros at
Schaghtic-
cook, or
Sextacook.

On this occasion Andros went up to Schaghticcook, a pleasant place, in the present county of Rensselaer, near the confluence of the Hoosic with the Hudson River, where

* Col. Doc., iii., 250, 255-258, 241; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 99; Chalmers, I., 581, 600; Bancroft, ii., 496; *ante*, 55, 56, 168, 182, 188, 200, 279.

† Council Min., iii. (ii.), 99, 100, 101; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 443; Col. MSS., xxv., 116, 121, 124; Hough's Philip's War, 164-168; Nantucket Papers, 89-103.

he "planted a tree of welfare," and invited all the North-^{CHAP. VI.}
ern and River Indians to come and live.*

Having informed the Hartford authorities of the "very
great execution" done by the Mohawks on their savage en-^{1676.}
emies, Andros desired to know whether the New York In-^{5 July.}
dians would be admitted into their towns. This, however,^{Connecti-}
was declined; while Connecticut sent word that some of s July.
Philip's warriors were about to cross the Hudson River^{20 July.}
near Esopus, "to seek for 'complices of their straine," and,
if they should escape southward, "it may be a great occa-^{New York.}
sion to animate the Virginia Indians." Convinced of "the
improbability" of this suggestion, Andros replied that as^{26 July.}
Connecticut declined the assistance of the Mohawks, he
dared not "presume further, than as formerly, by encour-
agements and gifts, to assure their constant fidelity."†

Not long afterward a large party of savages were sur-
prised at Stockbridge, on the Housatonic, and the surviv-^{Indians}
ors were reported to be attempting their escape "over^{killed at}
Hudson's River to a place called Paquage." The Con-^{Stock-}
necticut Council asked Andros either to grant "liberty to^{bridge.}
pass up your river, with some vessels from hence and the
Bay, with men and provision, to pursue and destroy those
of the enemies that are in those parts, or doe something
effectual yourself for the utter suppression of the enemy
in those parts." The governor replied that he would dis-^{19 August.}
patch proper orders to Albany, but he would not allow
Connecticut to send forces up the Hudson, or her agents to
treat with the Mohawks, "as it would breed distraction."‡
^{25 August.}
^{11 October.}
^{Connecti-}
^{cut not to}
^{talk with}
^{the Iro-}
^{quois.}

In the mean time, Philip was slain in a swamp near
Mount Hope, whither he retreated after having defended
"what he imagined to be his own, and the just rights of his
countrymen, to the last extremity." War was now ended.
"A handsome penny" was turned by exhibiting the man-
^{12 August.}
^{Philip slain}
^{near Mount}
^{Hope.}

* Council Min., iii. (ii.), 140; Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 175, 223; Col. Doc., iii., 235, 255, 260, 555, 713; iv., 245, 576, 744, 902, 991; v., 388; Hutch. Mass., i., 345; Colden, i., 101; Hist. Mag., iv., 50. Plans of Albany at this time, and of its fort, which stood near the present St. Peter's Church in State Street, are given in Miller's N. Y., and in Munsell's Ann. Alb., iii., 39; iv., 200.

† Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 461, 462, 466, 467; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 194, 165; Hough's Philip's War, 171.

‡ Trumbull, i., 348, 349, 350; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 469, 471, 472, 477, 478, 480; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 128, 129. About two hundred of the fugitives from Stockbridge fled to the Mahicans on the Hudson River and became incorporated with them: Col. Doc., iv., 744, 902, 991; Trumbull, i., 559. Hutch. Mass., i., 345, calls them "Scatacook Indians."

CHAP. VI.

1676.
Fate of the
captured
Ameri-
cans.

gled right hand of the son of Massasoit to New England "curiosity;" and the able-bodied native American captives who escaped the tender mercies of "the women at Marblehead," or the gibbets of Plymouth and Massachusetts, were exported to the West Indies and sold into slavery. Even the heir of the King of Pokanoket, and the grandson of the early friend of the shivering "Pilgrims" from Holland, was made a victim of Puritan avarice; and the latest historian of New England pronounces that there was no "peculiar aggravation in the circumstance that one of the sufferers was Philip's son."*

August.
Pemaquid
burned.

8 Septem.
Andros's
humanity.

12 October.
Opposed by
Massachu-
setts.

The Duke of York's eastern territory did not escape the consequences of Philip's war. Pemaquid was burned by the savages, who drove many of its colonists westward to Massachusetts. Hearing of this, the New York government voted land to the sufferers, and Andros dispatched his sloop to Boston, "offering free passage and relief to any driven from His Royal Highness's territories about Pemaquid." But Massachusetts, not relishing the humanity of New York, thought it better that all his Majesty's subjects should join in hunting the aborigines out of Maine, and that every effort should be made "to engage the Mohawks or other Indians, friends of the English, for their help and assistance therein."†

11 Feb'y.

Massachusetts, indeed, always coveted Maine. After the Dutch had conquered from the French the region east of the Penobscot, they were driven off by Boston vessels, the crews of which, nevertheless, "kept no possession." The States' ambassador at London, however, complained of this aggression, and charged that the Bostoners "would not suffer any Hollanders there." Charles accordingly ordered the Massachusetts magistrates "to return their answer to the said complaint, that so his Majesty, understanding the nature of the fact, may give such order as is agreeable to justice therein."‡

* Hutch. Mass., i., 306, 307; Trumbull's Conn., i., 348, 349; Mather, 188, 194, 195; Davis's Morton, 453-455; Everett's Bloody Brook Address, 1835; Arnold's R. I., i., 416, 417, 418; Plymouth Col. Rec., v., 174, 210; Hough's Philip's War, 21, 25, 188; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 471; Palfrey, iii., 205, 206, 216-221; Moore's Notes on Slavery in Massachusetts, 35-48.

† Council Min., iii. (ii.), 117; Col. Doc., iii., 241, 255, 265; Mass. Rec., v., 123; Williamson's Maine, i., 515-537; Maine H. S. Coll., v., 8, 9, 275, 281; Palfrey, iii., 208-211.

‡ Williamson's Maine, i., 580; Hutch. Mass., i., 311; Coll., 464, 489; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxii., 284, 287; Maine, Rec., v., 114, 116, 118; Palfrey, iii., 206; ante, 254. On the 27th of October, 1676, the Dutch West India Company commissioned CORNELIUS STEENWYCK, of New

After the Peace of Westminster, the British king gave more thought to his American colonies. His former Council of Trade and Plantations was dissolved, and its records were transferred to the Privy Council, a committee of which Charles directed to oversee "matters relating to trade and his foreign plantations." Thus American affairs were restored to the immediate control of the crown. The strict enforcement in her colonies of the Navigation and the Customs' laws of England was the motive. So the Plantation Committee addressed a circular letter to the several North American colonies requiring answers to various questions. A royal proclamation followed, which prohibited the importation into the plantations "of any merchandize but what should be laden in England, and for putting other branches of those acts into strict execution relating to America." This appears to have been drawn by Attorney General Sir William Jones, and was communicated to the colonial governors. At the same time it was determined "that no Mediterranean passes should be granted to New England, to protect its vessels against the Turks, until it is seen what dependence it will acknowledge on his Majesty, or whether his custom-house officers are received as in other colonies."*

Edward Randolph—a kinsman of Robert Mason, one of the claimants of Maine, a servant of the Duke of York, shrewd, active, and intensely devoted to his king—was sent with these dispatches to Massachusetts, which was thought to be the most "prejudicial plantation." On reaching Boston, Randolph was treated with coarse incivility by Leverett, its governor, who seems to have supposed that good breeding was inconsistent with Puritanism. Relying on its royal charter, the Corporation of Massachusetts—a creature of Charles the First—assumed that it could settle "all matters in difference" with Charles the Second by its

York, to take possession, in its behalf, of the conquered territory east of the Penobscot, and govern it as captain. This project, however, was never executed: see J. W. de Peyster's pamphlet, "The Dutch in Maine," 45, 73-77; Append., 7, 8, 9, 10, 11; Valentine's Manual, 1853, 352; 1864, 661; Col. MSS., xxvii, 125; Penabquid Papers, 29, 30.

* Col. Doc., iii, 223, 229, 230, 231, 232; Evelyn, ii, 86, 15; Anderson on Commerce, ii, 541; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxviii, 136, 137; Chalmers's Ann., i, 319, 323, 324, 400, 492; Rev. Col., i, 128, 129; Hutchinson's Coll., 444, 463, 503; Barry, i, 453; Palfrey, iii, 23, 275, 279-283. Chalmers, in the Preface to his Annals, erroneously states that Locke was Secretary of the Committee for Trade of March, 1675. Sir Robert Southwell, the Clerk of the Privy Council, was secretary of that committee, and afterward William Blathwayt: Col. Doc., iii, 223, 230, 271; Evelyn, ii, 101, 279; King's Locke, 34; ante, 187, 249.

CHAP. VI.

1674.

21 Decem.

1675.

12 March.

New com-

mittee for

trade and

planta-

tions.

11 August.

24 Novem.

Proclama-

tion to en-

force the

Navigation

Laws.

1676.

20 March.

No Medi-

terranean

passes for

New En-

gland.

20 March.

Edward

Randolph

sent to

Massachu-

setts.

10 June.

Randolph

insulted at

Boston.

CHAP. VI. own "final determination." Governor Winslow, of Plymouth, reproved the absurdity of his neighboring fellow-subjects, and told Randolph that New England would never flourish until its several colonies were reduced under his majesty's "immediate government." Randolph returned to London, satisfied that most of the inhabitants of Massachusetts abhorred the "arbitrary government and oppression of their magistrates," and hoped that the king would free them "from this bondage" by establishing his direct authority among them. The Navigation Laws, however, were so faithfully executed by Andros and Dyer as to cause a stoppage of trade between New York and Massachusetts. No European goods were allowed to be imported from Boston into New York unless they had paid customs in England, and this caused a "misunderstanding" between those colonies. Plymouth and Connecticut "duly observed" the laws.*

12 Oct.
Randolph
sustains
Andros.

Concerning the Indian war, Randolph testified that the Massachusetts complaints that Philip and his countrymen had been encouraged and supplied by the people of Albany were "without any just cause or ground, but rather a report raised out of malice and envy." Governor Andros had proved himself "very friendly and serviceable" to Massachusetts. Had his advice been taken, the war would have been less destructive, for he would have overpowered Philip by the New York Indians; "but his friendship, advice, and offers were slighted."†

9 August.
Massachusetts
sends
Stoughton
and Bulkley
to England.
16 Septem.

Having consulted her "reverend elders," Massachusetts sent William Stoughton and Peter Bulkley after Randolph to England. They were instructed to evade all "clamors and accusations," and to promise "a full answer" to the complaint of the Dutch government that the Hollanders had been driven out of Maine. This "answer," however, does not appear to have been given.‡

1675.
13 May.

Meanwhile La Salle had obtained from Louis a grant of Fort Frontenac and its neighborhood, with the monopoly of hunting and fishing on Lake Ontario, on condition that

* Chalmers, i., 403; Hutch. Mass., i., 311, 319; Coll., 477-512, 534, 564; Col. Doc., iii., 250-244; Bancroft, ii., 111; Barry, i., 454-458; Palfrey, iii., 284-289; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 484; Hist. Mag., B. (iii.), 70, 71; *ante*, 294.

† Randolph's "Narrative" of 12 October, 1676, in Hutch. Coll., 490; Col. Doc., iii., 142.

‡ Mass. Rec., v., 92-116; Hutchinson, i., 311, 312; Palfrey, iii., 291-295.

he should pay its cost, maintain a garrison, build a church, and support Franciscan missionaries. The king also made him a French nobleman. La Salle hastened back to Canada in company with Laval de Montmorency, who had been created Bishop of Quebec, and Jacques Duchesneau, who succeeded Talon as intendant, as well as with the Franciscan fathers Louis Hennepin, Christian Le Clercq, and Zenobius Membré. A new stone fort, with four bastions, was quickly built by La Salle around the old palisades at Cataracouy; a chapel was prepared; and the fathers Hennepin and Luke Buisset were installed as assistants of Ri-
CHAP. VI.
1675.
La Salle
ennobled
by Louis.
13 May.
30 May.
Franciscan
mission-
aries.
1676.
New fort at
Cataracouy.

After establishing the Franciscans at Cataracouy, Frontenac took little interest in the French missions south of Lake Ontario. Bruyas remained at Tionnontoguen, and James de Lamberville, who had just come over from Paris, replaced Boniface at Caghnawaga. The large secession to the Prairie de la Madeleine nevertheless troubled the Mohawk missionaries. Millet labored among the Oneidas with tolerable success. At Onondaga, John de Lamberville was comforted by the steadfast faith of Garakontié until the death of that eminent proselyte early in 1676. Carheil's chapel at Cayuga was burned by drunken savages. Among the Senecas, Pierron, Raffeix, and Garnier labored diligently. But that distant tribe, having subdued the Andastes, now talked only of war, "even against the French, and to begin by the destruction of the fort of Cataracouy."[†]
Jesuit mis-
sionaries
among the
Iroquois.
The An-
dastes con-
quered.

The "Residence" of the Prairie de la Madeleine had prospered, and Bishop Laval visited it in great state. But, as the land was not fertile, the mission was, in 1676, removed farther up the St Lawrence, near to the rapids of St. Louis. There a new village was founded, which the French named "St. Francis Xavier du Sault;" while the Iroquois proselytes, remembering their old home on the Mohawk, called it "Caghnawaga," which in their language means "the rapids," or "a carrying-place." A stone church
Prairie de
la Made-
leine.
Caghnawa-
ga, on the
St. Law-
rence.

* Col. Doc., ix., 118, 119, 120, 122-125, 126, 213, 216, 794; Charlevoix, ii., 256, 265; Faillon, iii., 472, 473, 474, 537; Hennepin's Louisiana, 2, 3, 7-14; New Discovery, 7-16; Hist. Coll. Louisiana, i., 195, 196; Sparks's La Salle, 8-17, 1-1; Shea's Disc. Mis., 78, 84, 85, 89, 103, 147, 159, 265, 266; Missions, 269, 412; Bancroft, iii., 162; Garneau, i., 237; *ante*, 99, 241.

† Relation, 1673-9, 140, 194, 195, 204; Drouil-lé, ii., 10, 35-45, 99, 106-114, 197; Shea, 272, 274, 277, 285, 289, 292, 293; Hist. Mag., ii., 297; Col. Doc., ix., 227, *note*; *ante*, 100, 193, 235-240.

CHAR. VI. was soon built at this Residence, which was put in charge of the fathers Frémin and Cholenee.*

1676.

13 August.
Domine
Nicolaus
van Rensselaer's
case.

This year marked the domestic annals of New York. Domine Nicolaus van Rensselaer, whom Andros had installed as colleague of Schaats in the Reformed Dutch Church at Albany, was accused of "false preaching" by Jacob Leisler, one of the deacons in the Dutch Church in New York, and Jacob Milborne, a young Englishman, who had formerly been the book-keeper of Thomas Delavall. On their complaint the Albany magistrates imprisoned Van Rensselaer for having uttered "some dubious words." An appeal was taken to New York, where the case was heard before the governor and council, the mayor and aldermen, and the "ministers of the city," and sent back for the authorities at Albany to determine. Domine Schaats accordingly proved his colleague's heterodoxy. Yet the Albany court thought it best that all differences "should be consumed in the fire of love," and enjoined perpetual forbearance on both sides, "for edification to the Reformed Religion." Their action was confirmed by the governor, council, aldermen, and "ministers of New York," who ordered Leisler and Milborne to pay all costs, "as giving the first occasion of the difference."†

23 Septem.

28 Septem.

23 October.
Leisler and
Milborne.

10 Novem.
New dock
in New
York.

The increasing commerce of the metropolis requiring larger accommodation, a mole or dock was built under the encouragement of Andros. Its expense was paid by a city tax levied on the residents, and timber was furnished by the North and West Ridings of Long Island. The "Heere Gracht," or canal in Broad Street, was also filled up and leveled, and a market-house was established at the "plaine afore the fort."‡

* Relation, 1673-9, 231-240; 1676-7, 122-145; Douin-I, ii., 49-70, 167-179, 217-227; Shenk, 298-304, 307, 308; Col. Doc., iii., 251; ix., 95, 116, 130; Index, 282; O'lden. i., 54; Smith, i., 69; Charlevoix, i., 552; ii., 268; v., 261; Hist. Mag., x., 322, 323; *ante*, vol. i., 423, 650; ii., 129, 178.

† Council Min., iii. (ii.), 118-125, 131, 132; Doc. Hist., ii., 42; iii., 527-530; Smith, i., 50; Col. MSS., xxv., 166; xxvi., 139; Col. Doc., iii., 301, 650, 727, 755; N. Y. Christ. Int., 2 Nov., 1865; *ante*, 196, *note*, 272. Domine Van Rensselaer acted as one of the managers of Rensselaerwyck after the death of his brother Jeremias in 1674. In 1677 Andros deposed him from his ministry "on account of his bad and scandalous life." The domine died the next year; and his widow, Alida Schuyler, married, in 1683, Robert Livingston, the astute young Scotch town clerk of Albany: Cor. Cl. Amst., Letter of Domine Van Zuren, 30 Sept., 1677; Holgate, 42, 163; O'Call., i., 122, 212; ii., 177, 552; Col. MSS., xxiv., 158; xxv., 145; xxvi., 90; xxxii., 175; *ante*, 287, 288.

‡ Col. MSS., xxv., 98, 155; Col. Doc., iii., 303, 309, 313, 314, 412; Min. of N. Y. C. C., i., 61; Val. N. Y., 181; Dunlap, ii., App. cxxv.-cxxvii.; Hoffman's Treatise, ii., 5.

At the Court of Assizes, William Loveridge, who had been arrested for slandering the Dutch at Albany, was fined twenty beavers, and allowed six months to make good his charge against Arnout Cornelissen Viele, the interpreter. Several of the inhabitants of Hempstead, having entered into an unlawful combination, were tried, convicted of riot, and variously sentenced. George Heathcote, the Quaker ship-captain, being charged with talking seditiously, was also heavily fined.*

CHAP. VI.

1676.

7 October.
Loveridge.25 October.
Hemp-
stead.

Heathcote.

Southampton and Southold, which for ten years had refused to take out new patents according to the Duke's Laws, were now obliged to submit. They sent up various reasons for their contumacy, which Andros treated more cavalierly than Lovelace. The Court of Assizes gave judgment that Southampton and Southold "for their disobedience have forfeited all their titles, rights and privileges to the lands in said township;" but a fortnight was allowed them to acknowledge their faults and obey. This was decisive, and the towns prudently obtained new patents.†

23 Septem.

7 October.
Southamp-
ton and
Southold.31 October.
1 Novem.

The Delaware territory, after the governor's visit in the spring of 1675, had been disturbed by Ogle and the Lutheran minister Fabricius. They were cited to appear before Andros at New York, and it was ordered that Fabricius, "in respect of his being guilty, and his former irregular life, be suspended from exercising his functions as a minister, or preaching any more within this government, either in public or private." This sentence appears to have been modified, and the Lutheran clergyman preached for several years in the church which Andros directed to be built at "Wickegkoo."‡

Delaware
affairs.15 Septem.
Fabricius.

In the mean time, Fenwick, to whom Lord Berkeley conveyed his undivided interest in New Jersey, had quarreled with Byllinge, for whom he was trustee, and this Quaker dispute had been arranged by William Penn. Berkeley's grantees assigned their estate in North America

New
Jersey.19 Feb'y
William
Penn.

* Col. MSS., xxv., 90, 184, 185, 211, 220, 226-241; *ante*, 287, 292. On the 25th of Sept., 1676, Andros wrote (in French) to Commander Binckes that he had supplied one of his ships with provisions, and thanked him for having reported favorably of him to the Prince of Orange: Col. MSS., xxv., 171; *ante*, 223, *note*.

† Col. MSS., xxv., 172-176, 222; Patents, iv., 103, 165; Thompson, I., 146, 334, 335, 334, 335; Dunlap, II., App. xxxviii.; *ante*, 119, 173, 275.

‡ Council Min. (dit.), II., 53; S. Hazard, 417, 419, 420, 428; G. Smith's Delaware County, 162, 115, 124; *ante*, 235, 279.

CHAP. VI. to William Penn, Gawen Laurie, and Nicholas Lucas, all of whom were Quakers. Under their auspices Fenwick

1675.
25 June.
Fenwick
sails to the
Delaware.

5 Decem.

10 Decem.

1676.
23 Septem.
Collier
command-
er in Dela-
ware.
25 Sept.

25 Sept.
Fenwick
contuma-
cious.

3 Decem.

7 Decem.

8 Decem.

1677.
12 Jan'y.
Fenwick
imprisoned
in New
York.

sailed for the Delaware with his family and some colonists, and landed at the old "Vareken's Kill" of the Dutch and "Elsingburg" of the Swedes, which he named "Salem." Cantwell, the New York sheriff at Newcastle, reported this intrusion to Andros, who directed that as Fenwick had not produced any authority, he "was not to be received as owner or proprietor of any land whatever in Delaware, but to be used civilly, paying all duties as others His Majesty's subjects;" and that, "as to any privilege or freedom of Customs, or trading on the Eastern Shore, none to be allowed in any case to the smallest vessel, boat, or person." The same duties levied at New York were to be exacted on the Delaware.*

Captain John Collier was not long afterward commissioned as the New York commander and sub-collector on Delaware Bay, and carefully instructed as to his duties. Three subordinate local courts were also established at Newcastle, at Upland, and at Hoarkill. The Duke's Laws, with certain exceptions, were directed to be enforced, and Cantwell was made high sheriff.†

In spite of Andros's warning, Fenwick, "a litigious and troublesome person," continued to act as proprietor at Salem, and was summoned to answer at New York, but he refused to obey. Collier was then directed to send him to Fort James; and he accordingly visited Fenwick, who denied that the governor of New York had any thing to do with him. The recusant was brought to Newcastle, whence he was conveyed a prisoner to New York. At a special Court of Assizes Fenwick was fined, and ordered to give security for his good behavior. Refusing to do this, he was kept in custody.‡

* Council Min., iii. (ii.), 71, 72; Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 163; Dankers and Sluyter, 242, 243; Leaming and Spicer, 65; S. Smith, 79, 89; Hazard's Rec. Penn., vi., 182; Proud, i., 136, 137; Dixon, 137; S. Hazard, 410, 419, 421, 422; N. J. H. S. Proc., ii., 8, 9; ante, vol. i., 322, 338, 380; ii., 266, 278.

† Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 115, 116, 211-213; Col. MSS., xx., 84-88; Hazard's Reg. Penn., iv., 57; Ann. Penn., 425-429; G. Smith's Del. Co., 105-107; Upland Records, 35-43. This last book was published by the Pennsylvania Historical Society. Scholars must regret that its editor, Mr. Edward Armstrong, has so carelessly repeated the stale errors that De Vries visited the Delaware in 1630, whereas it was Heyes; and that Lovelace succeeded Nicolls in May, 1667, whereas it was in August, 1668.

‡ Ord., Warr., Passes, iii., 231; Col. MSS., xx., 102, 103; xxv., 242; xxvi., 11, 12, 14; S. Smith, 94; Haz. Ann., 429-434, 453; N. J. Proc., ii., 9-11, 17; Dixon, 136; Eliz. Bill. S.

Meanwhile Philip Carteret had quietly governed that part of New Jersey north of Barnegat and the Renkokus Creek, which the Duke of York had conveyed, *in severalty*, to Sir George Carteret. James, however, did not suppose that his new deed of lands transferred to his grantee the "full and absolute power and authority" which the king had vested in him personally. The most important sovereign prerogative which Charles had delegated to his brother was that of taxing the inhabitants of a British-American province for the support of its government. To this end the duke's governor had ordered that all vessels trading within his original territory should enter at the New York Custom-house. After Andros reached New York, James's secretary wrote him that nothing had been done in England toward "adjusting Sir George Carteret's pretensions in New Jersey, where, I presume, you will take care to keep all things in the same posture (as to the Duke's prerogatives and profits) as they were in your predecessors' time, until you shall hear of some alterations agreed to here." This led to a "bickering" between Collector Dyer and Governor Carteret, who was made to pay duties to the duke on "a present" sent to New Jersey, and was "obstructed" by Andros from clearing a sloop from Elizabeth-town to Carolina.*

CHAP. VI.

1676.

Carteret's government in New Jersey.

1675.

13 Feb'y. Customs' duties levied by New York on New Jersey importations.

1676.

1 July. Quintipartite deed for East and West New Jersey.

The subordinate title to New Jersey, however, had now become so doubtful that its various claimants found it necessary to make a compromise. This was accomplished "after no little labour, trouble, and cost;" and, as is said, through the interposition of the Duke of York, who induced Sir George Carteret to relinquish his separate ownership. A "Quintipartite" deed, in partition, was accordingly made between Carteret, and Penn, Laurie, Lucas, and Byllinge, by which it was agreed that their division line should run from Little Egg Harbor to the northernmost branch of the Delaware River, in forty-one degrees and forty minutes of latitude. All the territory north and east of this line, called "East New Jersey," was vested in Carteret. All the remainder, to the south and west of it, named "West New Jersey," was conveyed to Penn and his associ-

* Leaming and Spicer, 91-111; Eliz. Bill, 8; Col. Doc., iii., 229, 240, 316; iv., 282; Chalmers's Annals, I., 617, 618; Grahanne, I., 468; S. Smith, 68; Whitehead's East Jersey, 66, 69, 70, 190, 191; *ante*, 267, 268, 277.

CHAP. VI. ates. Yet this famous instrument was based wholly on the king's effete patent to the Duke of York in March, 1676. 1664. It did not allude to the Dutch reconquest in 1673; nor to the Dutch reconveyance of New Netherland to Charles the Second, by the Treaty of Westminster, in February, 1674; nor to Charles's second patent to his brother in the next June; nor to the Duke of York's release of a part of New Jersey to Sir George Carteret, individually, in the following July. In these respects the "Quintipartite" New Jersey deed of 1676 is perhaps the most faulty English secondary parchment in American annals.*

31 August.
The Duke
of York
maintains
his prerog-
ative.

Two months afterward Secretary Werden wrote to Andros that the duke was not "at all inclined to let go any part of his prerogative, which you and your predecessors have all along constantly asserted in his behalf; and so, though at present, in respect to Sir George, we soften things all we may, not to disturb his choler (for in truth the passion of his inferior officers so far infects him as puts him on demands which he hath no colour of right to), I verily believe, should his foot chance to slip, those who succeed him must be content with less civility than we show him in this point; since then we should exercise that just authority His Royal Highness hath without such reserves as, though intended but as favours now, may, if confirmed, redound too much to the prejudice of your Colony."

Indeed, James now contemplated obtaining a new patent, "either for the better ascertaining the boundaries, or for any other cause," which should confirm to him Delaware, as well as the region eastward as far as the Connecticut. But the duke's political situation in England did not permit him to move in the matter at this time; although

1677. his secretary informed Andros that "a time may come, either upon a regulation of matters in New England, when His Majesty shall please to take that into his consideration, or some other way, when His Royal Highness may without scruple thinke it convenient to insist on all those rights that were intended him by his Patent from the Crowne."†

7 May.
James con-
templates
a new
patent.

The Quintipartite deed, however, induced Governor Carteret to claim a distinct port and custom-house in New

* Leaning and Spicer, 61-72; Eliz. Bill, p. 8; Answer to Bill, p. 18; S. Smith, 80, 89, 566, 548; Gordon, 28; Proud, 1, 142; Dixon's Penn., 138; Whitehead, 67, 68; ante, 260, 261, 265-268.

† Col. Doc., iii, 237, 239, 240, 247; Chalmers, 1, 613.

Jersey. The New York authorities resolved "That they find no port or harbour granted to Sir George Carteret (distinct or independent from this); but all ships or vessels, as hitherto, to enter and clear at the Custom-house here, or subordinate officers thereof, with due regard to Governor Carteret's or others' authority, for the duties on tobacco and other produce of America, according to acts of Parliament and orders thereupon."*

CHAP. VI.

1677.

11 July.
New York
refuses
New Jersey
a separate
port.

Penn and his co-proprietors of West Jersey, having prepared some "Concessions and Agreements," dispatched commissioners to organize its government and arrange matters with Fenwick. As the ship Kent, in which they were embarked, was lying in the Thames, King Charles came alongside in his pleasure barge, and seeing a great many passengers, and learning where they were bound, "asked if they were all Quakers, and gave them his blessing." After a tedious voyage the Kent anchored at Sandy Hook, and the commissioners went up to New York to wait on Andros. "He treated them civilly, but asked them if they had any thing from the Duke, his Master? They replied, Nothing particularly; but that he had conveyed that part of his country to Lord Berkeley, and he to Byllinge, etc., in which the Government was as much conveyed as the soil. The Governor replied: *All that will not clear me; if I should surrender without the Duke's order, it is as much as my head is worth; but if you had but a line or two from the Duke, I should be as ready to surrender it to you, as you would be to ask it.* Upon which, the commissioners, instead of excusing their imprudence in not bringing such an order, began to insist upon their right, and strenuously to assert their independency. But Andros, clapping his hand on his sword, told them, that should defend the government from them, till he received orders from the duke, his master, to surrender it. He, however, softened, and told them he would do what was in his power to make them easy till they could send home to get redress; and in order thereto, would commissionate the same persons mentioned in the commission they produced. This they accepted, and undertook to act as magistrates under him, till further orders came from England, and pro-

3 March.
Quaker em-
igrants to
West New
Jersey.

August.
Their
treatment
by Andros.

7 August.

* Warrants, Ord., Passes, iii., 63, 103, 254; ante, 270, 277.

CHAP. VI.

ceed in relation to their land affairs according to the methods prescribed by the proprietors." The Kent then went on to Newcastle. A site for a new town was chosen near "Jegow's Island," or Mattinicunk, which was leased to Robert Stacey, and a village soon arose, at first called "New Beverley," and then "Bridlington," or "Burlington," after the town in Yorkshire from which some of the emigrants came. Fenwick was at the same time released from his imprisonment and allowed to return to Salem upon promising to appear again at New York in the following October. This he honestly did, and Andros then set him free. The governor also appointed one of his lieutenants, Christopher Billop, now of Staten Island, to succeed Collier as commander and sub-collector for New York, on Delaware Bay and River.*

1677.
16 August.
14 Novem.

Burlington
founded.

14 August.
Billop com-
mander on
the Dela-
ware.

7 May.
Boundary
between
New York
and Cana-
da.

Among other reasons for a new patent, the Duke of York desired more definite limits for his province, which he considered as having always been bounded northward by Canada, "the Dutch having ever claimed and never lost the possession of the same." "As for the northern bounds," wrote Werden to Andros, more explicitly, "there is no question but they have always been esteemed to extend as far as the Lake (or River of Canada), and the French have no colour to pretend right of conquest from any of their invasions there, unless they had such possession before the Dutch were settled in Albany, which I believe is nothing soe."†

12 March.
Andros as-
serts Eng-
lish sov-
erignty over
the Iro-
quois.

Knowing the duke's views as to territory, Andros was sorely annoyed at the presence of the Jesuit missionaries among the Iroquois, of whom John de Lamberville at Onondaga had now become superior, in place of Bruyas at Tionnontoguen. Indeed, the French fathers were all jealously watched as intruders within the province of New York. Salisbury, the commander at Albany, was instructed "that the Maquas Indians and associates on this side the Lake (having been always under a part of this government) have nothing to do with the French, only as

* Warrants, Ord., Passes, iii., 259, 263; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 166-168; Col. MSS., xx., 136, 140; xxi., 35, 112; xxvii., 6; Col. Doc., iii., 221, 229, 249, 276; Dankers and Shoykoff, 174, 236; Leaming and Spicer, 382-409; S. Smith, 69, 80-94, 99, 521-528; Proud, i., 144; Gordon, 22, 38, 39; Gaz., 112, 113; Hazard's Reg. Penn., iv., 57, 73; Ann. Penn., 373, 374, 396, 443, 444, 453, 466; Thomas's West Jersey, 14, 15; N. J. H. S. Coll., ii., 17; Upland Book, 140, 141; ante, 164, 184, 265, vol. i., 183. † Col. Doc., iii., 223, 237, 247; v., 531; ix., 531.

they are friends, but in no case are to be commanded by them. And that the Commissaries do send for the Maquas Sachems and Father Bruyas, and signify this to the said Sachems before him, and to the said Father that the Governor desires, and does not doubt, his comport accordingly, for the quiet of these parts, pursuant to the friendship of our Kings at home.”*

CHAP. VI.

1677.

Andros's messengers found Bruyas entertaining as his guest the Franciscan Father Hennepin, who had walked over the snow from Fort Frontenac, and tarried to copy “a little Iroquois Dictionary” which the Jesuit had compiled. When the Dutch envoys heard Hennepin, who was a native of Hainault, speak Flemish, they showed him much friendship, and invited him to return with them to Albany, where they wished him to settle, “for the spiritual consolation of several Catholics” from the Netherlands who lived there. They even alighted from their horses to induce the father and his companions to mount in their places and go back with them. Hennepin would willingly have yielded to their urgency had he not feared giving umbrage to the Jesuits and injuring the Canadian fur trade. He therefore “thanked these estimable Hollanders,” and, bidding farewell to Bruyas, returned to Cataracouy.†

April.
Hennepin
among the
Mohawks.

The territorial pretensions of New York were not, however, recognized by Louis, who insisted that the expeditions of Champlain, Courcelles, and Tracy, followed by the submission of the savages and the settlement of Jesuit missionaries among them, had given him the sovereignty over the Iroquois. But it was not the time to bring this question to an issue. Louis, still at war with the Dutch, and anxious for the friendship of Charles, directed Frontenac “to cultivate a good understanding with the English,

18 April.
France
denies En-
glish sover-
eignty over
the Iro-
quois.

* Council Min., iii. (ii.), 155; Col. Doc., ix., 171, 720; Douairol, ii., 195-205; Shea, 274, 286; *ante*, 294. Mr. Shea, in a note to the reprint of the first edition of Colden's Five Nations, 129, erroneously attributes to Dongan the assumption of English sovereignty over the Iroquois which was due to Andros: compare Hist. Mag., x., 268, *note*.

† Hennepin's *Nouvelle Découverte*, 10, 25-29; *New Discovery*, 16-20; Col. Doc., iv., 682; ix., 720; Shea's *Discovery*, 104; *Catholic Missions*, 274; Sparks's *La Salle*, 17; *ante*, 299. Bruyas's Dictionary, or “*Tacines Amiéres*,” was published in the Appendix to the Report of the Regents of the University of New York of 15 April, 1863: Senate Document, 1863, No. 115. The general opinion, derived from the English translation (1698) of the “*Nouvelle Découverte*,” is that Hennepin visited Albany: Sparks's *La Salle*, 17; Shea's *Discovery*, 104. A careful examination of the French original, however, convinces me that Hennepin did not go to Albany, but returned from Bruyas's cabin at Tionnontoguen directly to Fort Frontenac: see Hist. Mag., x., 268.

CHAP. VI. and to be careful not to give them any cause of complaint;
 1677. without, however, permitting any thing contrary to the
 treaties I have concluded with the king their master.”**

La Salle
builds
barks on
Lake
Ontario.

La Salle had meanwhile built at Cataracouy three barks with decks, the first ever seen above the rapids of the Saint Lawrence, intending to use them for trading on Lake Ontario. But Jolliet's accounts of the vast buffalo countries in the West convinced him that a more lucrative and direct traffic with France than that through Canada could be opened by way of the Gulf of Mexico, into which it was supposed the Mississippi emptied. La Salle had already attempted to reach that river by way of the Ohio in 1669, and he now burned to demonstrate the truth of De Soto's early discovery, and extend actual French exploration from the mouth of the Arkansas down to the open sea. But

1676. Louis having declared himself against “new discoveries,”
 15 April. and instructed Frontenac not to countenance them “with-
 out urgent necessity and very great advantage,” La Salle
 determined to revisit France and impress his own views on

1677. the court. The jealous policy of Andros in prohibiting
 16 May. French traffic with the Iroquois south of Lake Ontario was
 another reason. As soon as his fort at Cataracouy was
 walled up, La Salle returned to France, carrying the warm-
 est letters from Frontenac.†

November.
La Salle
returns to
France.

In the mean time, Massachusetts and Connecticut had engaged some Mohawk warriors to help them fight the Eastern Indians, who were ravaging Maine. The Connecticut Council renewed their request for leave to treat directly with the Iroquois at Albany. Andros at once directed the Mohawks to recall their parties from the East, and notify his officers if any Christians or Indians should tamper with them. He also informed Governor Leete that he was going to Albany, where, “if you please to depute and send a fitt person, he may be present and say any thing [that] may be proper from yourselfe or colony to our Indyans, Maquas, etc.” Pynchon and Richards were accordingly appointed to make a treaty with the Mohawks

19 March.

23 March.

3 April.

10 April.

* Col. Doc., ix., 126, 267, 294, 305, 380-382, 702, 703, 782-803.

† Hennepin's Louisiana, 2, 3, 8-15; New Discovery, 15-25, 40, 41, 44; Tallon, iii., 475, 474; La Potherie, ii., 135; Col. Doc., ix., 126, 213, 216; Council Min., iii. di. 9, 148; Ch. des voix, ii., 264-265; Sparks's La Salle, 10, 11; Shea's Discovery, 84, 85, 88; Bancroft, iii., 100, 101, 163, 241, 290.

on the part of Massachusetts and Connecticut, under the advice of the governor of New York, or, if he should "obstruct," to take "what opportunity" they could to gain their end. Andros received the New England agents kindly at Albany; allowed them all freedom to speak "to what Indians they pleased;" and informed Leete that they had been "denied nothing here to their content." A handsome present was made by Pynchon, on behalf of Massachusetts, to the Mohawks, who covenanted peace with her friendly Indians. For the first time, New York permitted her Iroquois to treat with a New England colony. The League was sealed with the characteristic gift of "a fish painted on paper" to the savages, who, according to their custom, distinguished their new Eastern friends, whom Pynchon represented, by the descriptive name of "Kinshon."^{*}

CHAP. VI.

1677.

25 April.
Massachusetts and
Connecticut agents
at Albany.Conference
with the
Iroquois.

The subjugation of the Andastes or Susquehannas by the Senecas led to a correspondence between Andros and Governor Calvert of Maryland, in which the friendship of New York toward her sister English colonies at the South was fully manifested; although Virginian historians have somewhat blamed her for the "rebellion" which broke out in the Old Dominion under the lead of Nathaniel Bacon. In their warfare the Iroquois did not always discriminate between their savage enemies and the English colonists around the Chesapeake, among whom they dwelt; and both Virginia and Maryland felt the necessity of a peace with the Five Nations of New York.[†]

New York
and Mary-
land.

Charles Calvert, now Lord Baltimore, having returned to England, Notley, his lieutenant governor of Maryland, accordingly commissioned one of her council, Colonel Henry Coursey—who, in 1659, had hospitably treated the envoys of New Netherland—to go to Albany and "make a league

30 April.

^{*} Council Min., iii. (ii.), 140, 141, 144, 145; Col. MSS., xxvi., 46, 52; Col. Doc., i., 328; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 483, 488, 489, 491-496, 507; Mass. Rec., v., 165, 167; Hutch. Mass., i., 318; Williamson's Maine, i., 548; Colden, i., 116, 180; *ante*, 296, 298. As the Iroquois had no labials in their language, they were obliged to say "Quider" instead of "Peter." Hennepin's New Discovery, 24; Colden, i., 16, 116. For this reason, I think it probable that "Kinshon" was the nearest they could come to "Pynchon." Being great generalizers of names, they used that of "Pynchon" to denote New England, just as they substituted "Onontio" for Canada, and "Corlaer" for New York; *ante*, 102, 287. Father Millet, in his letter of 6 July, 1691, p. 48, wrongly applies the name "*Le Poisson*," or "*Kinshon*," to New York instead of New England.

[†] Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 152, 163, 164, 214; Col. MSS., xxv., 124; Col. Doc., iii., 245; Hough's Philip's War, 124, 125; S. Hazard, 421-426; Beverley, 62, 63; Park, ii., 156, 157; Force's Tracts, i., viii., ix.; Douniol, ii., 41, 45, 99, 197; Hist. Mag., i., 65-73; ii., 297; Campbell's Virginia, 284-323; *ante*, 100, 193, 299.

CHAP. VI. of friendship" with the New York Iroquois. After entertainment at Newcastle, Coursey was cordially received at Fort James. In anticipation of his coming, Andros dispatched "two Christians," one of whom was Wentworth Greenhalgh, to summon the Senecas and their confederates to meet Coursey at Albany, and announce the governor's intention to be there in August. When Coursey reached New York, another message was sent to hasten the interview. This was accordingly held, and the agent of Maryland and Virginia, in several conferences with the Iroquois sachems, "had answers to his satisfaction."*

1677.
23 May.
Coursey
sent to
New York.
16 May.
Green-
halgh's
tour in
Western
New York.
6 June.
21 July.
Coursey at
Albany.

The savages in Maine were meanwhile doing great mischief. Andros therefore resolved "to take possession, and assert the Duke's interest at Pemaquid, and parts adjacent Eastward;" and that if New York should make peace with the Indians there, "the Massachusetts to be comprized, if they please." Brockholls, Knapton, and Secretary Nicolls were accordingly commissioned to go to Pemaquid with four sloops, one hundred men, and a framed redoubt, to be set up in the most convenient place. They were directed to make peace with such Indians as delivered up their prisoners, and to include the New England colonies if they so desired. Any Mohawks who might come to them were to be received and used kindly, "as at Albany." The redoubt, which was named "Fort Charles," was quickly built at Pemaquid, mounted with seven guns, and placed under the command of Knapton, the brother-in-law of Andros, with a garrison of fifty men. Peace was arranged with the Indians, and several Christian captives rescued. Stringent orders were adopted in New York for the government of Pemaquid. None could treat with its aborigines except through the governor at the metropolis. The trading-place was to be at Fort Charles, where alone Christians were allowed to inhabit; and all entries were to be made in the New York Custom-

9 June.

16 June.
Andros
takes pos-
session of
Pemaquid.

July.
Fort
Charles es-
tablished.

2 August.

22 Septem.
Regula-
tions for
Pemaquid.

* Council Min., iii. (ii.), 142, 147, 148, 151, 152, 160, 161, 164; Deeds, vi., 28; Col. MSS., xxvi., 60, 63; Col. Doc., ii., 94; iii., 250-252, 256, 321; ix., 227; Colden, i., 38; first ed. p. 31, 46; Chalmers, i., 364, 365, 366, 606-609; S. Hazard, 437, 438; Upland Rec., 49; Clinton in N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 89; Davis's Day Star, 113; *ante*, i., 666. I am indebted to Mr. Brantz Mayer, of Baltimore, for the communication of interesting memoranda from the State Paper Office relating to Coursey's mission. Greenhalgh's Journal of his visit to the Five Nations, from 28 May to 14 July, 1677 (in Col. Doc., iii., 250-252, and Chalmers, i., 366-609), is the earliest English account we have of the strength and condition of the Iroquois.

house. Fish might be cured upon the islands, "but not upon the Maine, except at Pemaquid, near the fort." This regulation mortified Massachusetts, which claimed that its people should be allowed their ancient privilege "to improve themselves and estates in the honest and industrious labour of fishing."*

CHAP. VI.

1677.

17 October.
Massachu-
setts of-
fended.

Andros now went up to Albany and held another conference with the Iroquois. The Oneidas had been "diverted from the southward;" but they and the Mohawks still suspected the Mahicans. On his return to the metropolis Andros indignantly rebuked Connecticut for "falsely and unchristianly" censuring his Indian policy. Not long afterward Massachusetts undertook to reprove the New York savages for breaking the treaty which Pynchon had made with them in April, and suggested that they would do "an acceptable service" if they should destroy "a parsell of Indians who came lately from Canada," and attacked Hatfield on the Connecticut. A similar lecture was addressed to the New York commander at Albany. Andros accordingly instructed Salisbury to send any interfering strangers who might come there, down to New York for examination.†

28 August.
Andros at
Albany.

24 Septem.

12 October.
Precau-
tions
against the
New En-
glanders.

20 October.

This year witnessed fresh discoveries in the interior of New York. While Greenhalgh was exploring the West, nearer regions were not neglected. The search led by Louis du Bois after the prisoners captured at Wyldwyck in 1663 had revealed the beauty of the rich valley of the Wallkill, and a second exploration was made through the more rugged neighborhood of the river. A large tract of land was purchased from the Indians by Dubois, Hasbrouck, and other French and German Protestants, to whom the governor gave a patent. The grant extended along the Shawangunk Mountains from "Mohunk" to "Tower-a-tauch," and along the Hudson River from "Rapoops" down to "Jeffrouw's Hook." Several of the grantees settled themselves at once on the tract, which was

23 Septem.
Patent for
New Paltz

* Col. Doc., iii., 248, 249, 256, 265; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 153, 163, 169; Warrants, Ord., Passes, iii., 251; Col. MSS., xxvii., 130; Maine H. S. Coll., v., 14-23, 30, 259; Mass. Rec., v., 162, 164, 163, 169; Hutch. Mass., I., 325, 347; Williamson's Maine, I., 552; Belknap, I., 129; Palfrey, iii., 213; *ante*, p. 308.

† Col. Doc., iii., 250; Col. MSS., xxvi., 135, 136, 141; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 502, 503, 506, 507, 508; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 170; Mass. Rec., v., 165-168; Hutch., I., 348; Trumbull, I., 551.

CHAP. VI. named the "New Paltz," in memory of their former home
 1677. in the Palatinate, which had just been so awfully ravaged
 by Turenne. The first settlement was made near an an-
 cient Indian mound on the Wallkill, where Dubois and his
 2 Novem. associates were required to build a redoubt "for a place of
 retreat and safeguard."*

The provincial customs' rates, which had been establish-
 ed in November, 1674, were now renewed for three years,
 November. by a proclamation from the governor, under the duke's
 Customs' rates re- special instructions to "continue the same rates and other
 newed. duties for three years longer, to commence from the end
 of these now running."†

7 May. Meanwhile Andros had received permission to spend
 Andros al- the winter in England, "to look after his own concerns,"
 lowed to provided he took care to settle every thing during his ab-
 return to sence "in the best and safest manner." After advising with
 England. his council, the governor commissioned Brockholls to be
 7 Novem. commander-in-chief, and Secretary Nicolls next in author-
 Brockholls ity, with instructions to consult the council and the metro-
 command- politan mayor, Stephanus van Cortlandt, on extraordinary
 er-in-chief occasions. He also gave his wife a power of attorney to
 16 Novem. manage his private affairs during his absence. Having
 visited Carteret at Elizabethtown, Andros embarked from
 17 Novem. Staten Island for England, accompanied by William Nic-
 Andros o- oles, son of the provincial secretary.‡

After the governor's departure the affairs of New York
 were quietly administered by Brockholls, who was chiefly
 engaged in strengthening Fort James and remounting its
 guns. Correspondence with Frontenac in Canada, Lever-
 ett in Massachusetts, Knapton at Pemaquid, Bruyas in the
 Mohawk country, and Salisbury at Albany, also taxed the
 attention of the Duke of York's temporary commander-in-
 chief during the next winter and spring.§

Brock- holls's tem-
 porary ad-
 ministration of New
 York af-
 fairs.

* Patents, iv., 234; Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 250; N. Y. H. S. Proceedings for 1545, 51; Ulster H. S. Coll., i., 34, 35, 41-43, 50, 187-191; Martin's Louis XIV., i., 294; *ante*, vol. i., 712, 713. The New Paltz Academy, in Ulster County, now stands on the site of this old Indian mound.

† Col. Doc., iii., 217, 246, 280, 292; Col. MSS., xxiv., 1; xxvi., 5; Ord., Warr., etc.; xxxiii., 43, 44, 45; Council Journals, i., *Introd.*, viii.; *ante*, 263.

‡ Col. Doc., iii., 246, 256, 257, 702; Council Min., iii. (iL), 175, 176; Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 236, 287; Col. MSS., xxvi., 151; Col. Rec. Conn., ii., 508; Hazard's Reg. Penn., iv., 73, 74; Thompson, ii., 391; Whitmore's Memoir of Andros, xix.

§ Col. Doc., iii., 307, 311; Col. MSS., xxvi., 149, 150, 152, 161, 162; xxvii., 1-178; Council Min., iii. (iL), 176, 177; Maine H. S. Coll., v., 9-18, 23-32; Col. Rec. Conn., iii., 258; Mass. Rec., v., 300.

New York, as described by Andros in London the next CHAP. VI.
 April, contained twenty-four towns, villages, or parishes, 1678.
 in six precincts, or Courts of Sessions. Its population April.
 had increased of late, consisting of old inhabitants, chiefly New York
 Dutch, with colonists from England, and "some few of all as de-
 nations." Servants were much wanted, there being "but scribed by
 very few slaves," most of whom were brought from Bar- Andros.
 badoes, and were worth from thirty to thirty-five pounds Value of
 each. A merchant having five hundred or a thousand estates.
 pounds was thought substantial, and a planter worth half
 that "in moveables" was accounted rich. The value of
 all the estates in the province was about 150,000 pounds.
 From ten to fifteen vessels, of one hundred tons each,
 traded to the province each year from Old and New En-
 gland. Five small ships and a ketch belonged to New
 York, of which four were built there. The exports were
 chiefly provisions, furs, tar, and lumber; and the imports Ships and
 of English manufactures amounted to 50,000 pounds year- commerce.
 ly. The customs, excises, and quit-rents were all applied
 to the public charges; but they did not suffice "by a
 greate deale." The chief trading-places were New York
 and Southampton for foreign commerce, and Albany for
 the Indian traffic. There were about two thousand males Militia.
 able to bear arms, of whom one hundred and forty were
 horsemen, in three troops. Fort James was a square of
 stone, with four bastions, and mounting forty-six guns. Forts
 Fort Albany was a small stockade, with four bastions and James,
 twelve guns, "sufficient against Indians." Fort Charles, Albany,
 at Pemaquid, was a "wooden redoubt," with seven guns. and
 These forts were garrisoned by regular English soldiers. Charles.
 Ministers "were scarce, and religious many," so that there
 were no records of marriages or births in New York. The
 duke maintained an Episcopalian chaplain, which was "all
 the certain allowance or Church of England." There
 were about twenty churches in the province, most of which Religious
 were Presbyterians and Independents, with Quakers, Ana- various,
 baptists, and Jews; and all were supported by "free gifts and "noe
 to the ministry." In New York there were "noe beg- beggars."
 gars, but all poore cared for."*

* Col. Doc., iii., 245, 246, 260-262; Doc. Hist., I., 60-62; Chalmers's Pol. Ann., I., 600-604.

CHAPTER VII.

1678-1683.

CHAP. VII.

1678.

England
gains by
the Treaty
of West-
minster.

William of
Orange re-
visits En-
gland.

DURING the four years which followed the Treaty of Westminster, England reaped the fruits of her peace with the Dutch Republic in the growth of her own trade, and in a higher consideration by other nations. As a neutral between France and the United Netherland States, she engrossed nearly all the commerce of the world. Yet French cruisers would capture English trading ships, and Charles was forced to ask Parliament for supplies to repair his neglected navy. But English commoners were too jealous of the influence of Louis over Charles to intrust their sovereign with a power which he might prostitute for the benefit of France. The British House of Commons represented then—as it generally represents—the temporary sentiment of insular England. On the broader continent, the Dutch, seeing their commerce languish while that of England flourished, were naturally anxious for a peace with France. So negotiations were opened at Nimeguen, on the Rhine; and the Prince of Orange, determined to engage his uncle as a mediator or an ally, revisited England. A marriage between William and his cousin Mary, the eldest daughter of his uncle James, of York, had long been contemplated. Before the Dutch war of 1672, when the princess was only twelve years old, Charles suggested the match to his brother, who bitterly opposed such a heretical alliance. After the Peace of Westminster the king again spoke to the duke in favor of the project, which was approved by his own ministers. At their first audience Charles told the ambassadors of the Republic that he loved his Dutch nephew “like a son.” But the Duke of York was ambitious to give his daughter to the Dauphin of France, while Louis wished her to accept his inferior sub-

joet, the Prince of Conty. Rouvigny, the French ambas-
sador at London, warned James to dread the proposed mar-
riage "as death;" to regard the Prince of Orange as "the
idol of England;" and he predicted to the duke that "such
a son-in-law would inevitably be his ruin." William at
first rejected his uncle Charles's overture. Political and
personal interests now combined to make him anxious for
the splendid alliance. The Stuart cousins understood each
other at once; Charles's command compelled James's re-
luctant consent; and the Reformed Protestant Dutch cham-
pion espoused the future heiress of the British crown.
Little did Charles or James foresee the momentous conse-
quences of these Dutch and British nuptials. Louis ob-
served the advancement of his greatest enemy with pro-
phetic vexation. But England rejoiced in growing sym-
pathy with Holland; and Parliament, while voting liberal
supplies for an expected war with France, resolved that all
English soldiers and sailors should be recalled from duty
under Louis. A struggle was at hand between the Protest-
ant convictions of England and the Popish inclinations of
its anointed sovereign.*

After the marriage of William and Mary, the limping
conferences at Nimeguen sprung briskly. The English
auxiliaries of Louis were mustered out of his service; but
his parsimonious treatment of them caused just complaints,
and disgusted the king and the Duke of York. At length
peace was covenanted between France and the Protestant
Dutch Republic, which, at the end of the long struggle,
found herself far better off than she was when her Popish
adversary began his ruthless attack.†

Andros had meanwhile landed in Ireland, whence he
hastened over to London. On reaching court he was
knighted by the king, and allowed a short holiday to look
after his private affairs at Guernsey; where, however, he

CHAR. VII.

1678.

1677.

Novem.
William of
Orange
married t.
Mary of
England.

1678.

Feb'y.
Effect of
William's
marriage.

August.
Peace of
Nimeguen
between
the Dutch
and
French.

5 Jan'y.
Andros in
London,
and
knighted.

* Col. Doc., ii., 533; Rouvigny to Louis XIV., 23 April, 1674, in Mignet's *Negotiations*, iv., 232; Martin's *Louis XIV.*, i., 409, 410, 453, 457; Temple, ii., 252-420; Dalrymple, i., 143, 153-164; Clarke's *James II.*, i., 500-502, 508, 510; Burnet, i., 367-412; Kennett, iii., 297-362; Macpherson, i., 202, 211, 224-231; Courtenay's *Temple*, i., 424-510; Rapin, ii., 675-685; *Parl. Hist.*, iv., 907, 925; *Dasnage*, ii., 499-570, 902-907; *Sylvius*, x.-xvi.; *Davies*, iii., 138-163; *Hume*, vii., 1-34; *Lingard*, xiii., 1-43; *Macaulay*, i., 224-229; *anc.*, 189.

† *Parl. Hist.*, iv., 943, 952, 944, 983, 1005; Martin's *Louis XIV.*, i., 462-468; *Dumont*, vii., 350; *Temple*, ii., 450-455; Courtenay's *Temple*, ii., 13; Dalrymple, i., 164-169; Macpherson, i., 233-235, 244; Clarke's *James II.*, i., 511, 512; Kennett, iii., 263; Burnet, i., 422, 423; *Dasnage*, ii., 907-937; *Anderson*, ii., 537, 543, 549; *Col. Doc.*, iii., 423, 453, 490, 492, 493.

CHAP. VII. did not tarry long, because the duke required him to return quickly to his government.*

1678.

Massachusetts agents in trouble.

The new-made knight found the Massachusetts agents, Stoughton and Bulkley, in tribulation because of the ill favor of their colony at Whitehall. They could not answer the telling testimony of Randolph, which, in the opinion of Jones and Winnington, the king's attorney and solicitor general, contained "sufficient matter to avoid the patent" of Massachusetts by a writ of "*Quo Warranto*."

8 April.
Andros's account of his government.

By the Duke of York's order, Andros attended the Plantation Committee, where he gave an account of his government, and exposed the behavior of the Eastern Puritan colonies toward New York about the Indian War. In answer to particular inquiries, he suggested that the various sub-governments in New England should be made "as one people and country" by the king's "asserting and regulating" their militia forces, otherwise "every colony may be a prey to an invader." From his information, Andros thought that "the generality of the magistrates and people are well affected to the king and kingdom; but most, knowing noe other government than their owne, think it best, and are wedded to, and opiniated for it. And the magistrates and others in place, chosen by the people, think that they are obliged to assert and maintaine said government all they can, and are church members, and like so to be; chosen, and to continue without any considerable alteration and change there, and depend upon the people to justify them in their actings."†

9 April.
Andros suggests a consolidation of the New England colonies under the king.

16 April.
Andros's report about New York.

Andros also submitted to the committee full replies about New York, to the specific inquiries which each royal governor in the Plantations was required to answer. For the first time since Nicolls's report in 1666, the internal administration of the duke's province came directly under the observation of the king's Privy Council.‡

There was an unsettled account between New York and

* Col. MSS., xxvii., 124; Maine H. S. Coll., v., 26; Whitmore's Andros, xix.

† Col. Doc., iii., 254-258, 262-264, 578; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxvii., 287; Hutch. Mass., i., 312-322; Chalmers, i., 463, 464, 465, 436-447; Palfrey, iii., 303-317; Hist. Mag., ii. (III.), 79, 71; *ante*, 298.

‡ Col. Doc., iii., 188, 260-262; Chalmers, i., 600-604; Doc. Hist., i., 60-62; *ante*, 113, 228. The twenty-seven official "Heads of Inquiry," which were sent to the several colonial governors, are in Col. Rec. Conn., iii., 292-294; see also Arnold's Rhode Island, i., 460, 488-491. The substance of Andros's answers has already been given; *ante*, 313.

Massachusetts which Andros did not fail to adjust. In America, the "aspersions" of Boston could not be corrected, because the Puritan press, which uttered the falsehood, had not the manliness to publish the truth. But now both colonies stood face to face before a supreme tribunal. Andros accordingly petitioned for an inquiry into the truth of the charges of Massachusetts while her agents were yet in London to answer. This was granted at once. Stoughton and Bulkley, after meditation, evasively replied that they had no proofs to offer, and hoped that New York had not been "prejudiced" by the libel against those who were "never discovered" to "your Majesty's Government of the Massachusetts." This acknowledgment was fatal to the would-be independence of the royal corporators in Boston. The king declared that he found "no cause to believe that any of his subjects from the parts of Albany did supply any powder or other materials for war to Philip or other Indian enemies in those parts, neither could he perceive any cause or ground for the imputation laid upon his said subjects of Albany by the Massachusetts;" and he therefore ordered that no Albanian should be liable to such "imputation," unless the authorities in Massachusetts should prosecute him within a year. It does not appear that any prosecution was instituted, nor any apology or retraction offered by the Boston court, whose printers were now more rigorously fettered by colonial censors than any of the craft were restrained in Old England by Sir Roger L'Estrange.*

Having been absent from his government as long as the duke thought prudent, Andros prepared to return. Hitherto he had exercised Admiralty powers in New York only under his "general commission." The Duke of York, who was yet Lord High Admiral of England in its Plantations, now gave Andros a special commission as Vice-Admiral throughout his colonial government, and authorized him to appoint a Judge, Register, and Marshal in Admiralty, to hold their offices during his pleasure.†

The next week Andros sailed for Sandy Hook, accom-

* Col. Doc., iii., 253, 259, 266, 267; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxii., 287, 288; Whitmore's Andros, 13, 20; Macaulay, i., 243, 390, 589; iv., 249; *ante*, 83, 290-292.

† Col. Doc., iii., 215, 229, 269, 268; *ante*, 87, 292. The first part of the Duke of York's Admiralty Commission to Andros (in Latin) is recorded in N. Y. Patents, iv., 146-153. The record is not complete, nor does the date appear; but it is entered next after a local patent, dated 20th October, 1678.

CHAP. VII.

1678.

9 April. Andros desires the charges of Massachusetts to be proved.

24 April.

24 April. The king absolves New York from the "imputation" of Massachusetts.

20 May. Andros's Commission in Admiralty.

27 May.

CHAP. VII. 1678. Andros returns to New York.panied by several residents of New York, among whom were William Pinhorne, James Graham, and John West, all of whom became prominent in the affairs of the province. The Reverend Charles Wolley, a recent graduate of Cambridge University, whom the duke had appointed chaplain to the forces in New York, also came out with the governor. After a nine weeks' voyage Andros reached port, and the next day landed in the metropolis.*

7 August. 8 August. The first business of Andros, on resuming his government, was to order that none but New Yorkers should trade at Albany. The commissioners for Indian affairs there, having complained of the French intrigues among the Mohawks, were also directed to do every thing to encourage the New York savages.†

8 August. Albany trade.

22 August. Another measure, necessary to help the provincial trade, was met by remonstrances from Albany, Esopus, and other inland towns. The previous direction that all flour exported from the city of New York should be bolted fine, and the barrels branded, appears to have been evaded, and the reputation of its great staple was jeopardized in foreign ports. The Council therefore ordered that no inland towns should "trade over sea," and that no flour should be inspected within the province except in the metropolis. Honest manufacture was thus secured; and, for some years, "no bad commodity was suffered to go out." At this time the city contained three hundred and forty-three houses, each of which, on the average, had ten inhabitants, making its whole population three thousand four hundred and thirty. There belonged to the metropolis three ships, seven boats, and eight sloops. Four hundred beeves were killed for its yearly supply. The whole revenue of the province was about two thousand pounds. But, from the time of the metropolitan flour-law, the revenue of the city, as well as that of the proprietor, began to improve.‡

Bolting of flour. 24 August. Condition of the metropolis. Population and shipping.

An interesting incident now occurred. After his theological defeat in 1676, Leisler went to trade in Dela-

* C. Wolley's Journal (Gowans's ed., 1860), 10, 21, 65, 69, 70; Dankers and Sluyter, 148; Col. Dec., iii., 271, 303, 657, 716; iv., 847; General Entries, xxxii., 1; *ante*, 45, *note*.

† Col. MSS., xxvii., 175, 187; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 179, 180; Col. Dec., iii., 315.

‡ Warrants, Ord., Passes, iii., 40, 287; Col. MSS., xxvi., 147; xxviii., 3, 78, 83, 95, 99; xxix., 29, 32; Col. Dec., iii., 515, 368, 797; iv., 303, 375, 461, 1123; v., 57; Minutes of Common Council, i., 143, ii.; Dunlap, ii., App. cxlvii.; Chalmers's Ann., i., 597, 598; Valentine's New York, 180; compare Andros, in Col. Dec., iii., 260-262, and *ante*, 313.

ware, Maryland, and Virginia, and afterward sailed in his "Pincke" for Europe, with several other New Yorkers. On their way they were taken by the Turks, whose corsairs commanded the ocean, and Andros at once ordered "that a brief be granted for the Church officers (and recommended by the ministers) to collect the benevolence of well-disposed persons in this Government toward the redemption of these captives." This was an imitation of the familiar practice in England, where such letters are usually issued by the sovereign. The appeal was effectual, and the captives were soon redeemed; Leisler paying two thousand pieces of eight (or Spanish dollars) for his own ransom.*

Pursuant to his new commission and the duke's special warrant, Andros now appointed the mayor, Stephanus van Cortlandt, to be judge, and the aldermen of the city of New York to be assistants of the Provincial Court of Admiralty. Samuel Leete, the city clerk, was likewise appointed register, and Sheriff Thomas Ashton the marshal of the court. This organization substantially existed for several years, the mayor of the city, for the time being, always receiving a commission as judge in Admiralty.†

Affairs in Pemaquid seemed now to require the governor's presence; but, by the advice of his Council, Andros deferred going thither until the spring. Knapton, his commandant at Fort Charles, had diligently executed his instructions, to the discontent of Massachusetts; a vessel belonging to which had been seized for illegally trading within the duke's territories. It was accordingly ordered in Council that the former regulations should continue in force, and that "no Indian trade be admitted at Pemaquid but from and to this place, to prevent inconvenience."‡

On the Delaware, Billop, the commandant, had misconducted himself, so that Andros was obliged to order him

CHAP. VII.

1678.

17 August.
Letter in
favor of
captives by
the Turks.5 October.
Admiralty
Court in
New York.Pemaquid
affairs.

23 August.

3 Septem.

* Ord., Warr., Passes, III., 219; Council Min., III. (d.), 178; Gen. Ent., xxxii., 65; Col. MSS., xxvii., 179, 188; xxviii., 26, 27, 39; xlix., 138; Mass. Rec., v., 289; Col. Doc., III., 717; Doc. Hist., II., 2; III., 233; Laws of Maryland, 1654. A surplus of this collection remained after the captives were redeemed, and this Andros directed to be applied toward the building of a new Dutch Church in New York: Col. Doc., III., 717.

† Minutes of Common Council, I., 122, 124; Gen. Ent., xxvii., 4; Col. Doc., III., 268; Dunlap, II., App., exxviii.; Daly's Sketch, 29, 51. Delavall having succeeded Van Cortlandt as mayor on 14 October, 1678, was commissioned judge in Admiralty in his place.

‡ Col. Doc., III., 272; Council Min., III. (d.), 180, 181; Col. MSS., xxvii., 2, 5, 63, 64, 125, 126, 143; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxviii., 353; Pemaquid Papers, 9-14, 15, 16, 22-23; ante, 310.

CHAR. VII. back to New York, leaving Alricks in charge. On his return to the capital, Billop was dismissed his military employment, for "extravagant speeches in public," at the Custom-house. This action of Andros was approved by the duke, who ordered the vacant commission of lieutenant in the regular service to be given to Salisbury; and Billop retired to his plantation on Staten Island to nurse his anger against the governor.*

1678.
Delaware
affairs.
24 Septem.
1679.
10 March.

1678. Notwithstanding his experience at New York, Fenwick, on his return to Salem, persisted in acting as an independent proprietor. He was complained of to the Council, who directed "that, according to his parole, he forbear the assuming any power of government to himself on the east side of Delaware River, or any where else in those parts." This he refused to do, alleging that he was answerable only to the king, and was again arrested and sent to New York. His case was considered by the Council, which denied his appeal to the king, but referred him to the judgment of the Court of Assizes. This being adverse, the governor appointed six commissioners to act at Elsingburg, or Salem, in subordination to the court at Newcastle. The Newcastle court was also instructed to take care that the inhabitants of the east side of Delaware River "be not disturbed in their possession upon any pretence whatsoever by the said Major Fenwick, or others."†

29 May.
Fenwick's
case.

3 June.

24 July.

22 August.

October.

28 October.

5 Sept.

25 Sept.
New York
and New
England
colonies.

9 October.

The governor's attention was quickly called to the relations between New York and New England. The commissioners of the three Eastern United Colonies, meeting at Hartford, complained to him of the "frivolous answers" which their agents, Ely and Wayte, had received from the Mohawks at their recent visit to Albany. Andros reproved them for treating surreptitiously with the New York Indians, but offered to give full liberty to talk with the savages "through the government," and proposed a meeting at New Haven "to advise on the matter," if it be "necessary for the public good of these colonies." Leete and Allyn, on behalf of Connecticut, thought the proposed

* Col. Doc., iii., 276, 284, 290, 296; Col. MSS., xxvii., 9, 11; xxviii., 13; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 185; S. Hazard, 443-453; Newcastle Rec.; Upland Rec.; Chalmers, i., 363, 375; Anderson's Col. Ch., ii., 395; ante, 306.

† Council Min., iii. (ii.), 180; S. Hazard, 452-453; N. J. Hist. Soc. Proc., ii., 12-21; Col. MSS., xx., 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 155, 156; xxvii., 196; xxviii., 1; ante, 302, 306.

meeting "will little avail," and that the conferences at Albany, if not known to Andros, had been with the "privity and allowance" of Salisbury, his subordinate there.* CHAP. VII.
1678.

In his letters to Secretary Blathwayt, Andros dwelt on the relations between the duke's province and its eastern neighbors, and insisted that troubles with the savages must be expected "so long as each petty colony hath, or assumes, absolute power of peace and warr, which cannot be managed by such popular governments; as was evident by the late Indian wars in New England." He charged the Puritan colonies with making the New York Indians "lie, if not insolent, which they never were afore; nor did I ever make treaty with, but dealt with them as being under, or part of the Government." All his hope now was, "regulations and orders from the king, as the only means to keep us well in peace, and preserve or defend us of wars." These opinions had much effect in England, where measures for the reform of the Massachusetts corporation were at this moment under consideration.† 16 Sept.

12 October.
Com-
plaints of
Andros to
England.

Jacob Milborne, who, after his theological trouble in 1676, had left the province in November, 1677, now returned, on his way to Boston, where his brother William was an Anabaptist preacher. Behaving himself "scandalously and reproachfully in relation to the Government," he was desired to attend the governor, "to give an account of his coming," as was the usual custom. But Milborne refused, saying that "he had nothing to do with the Governor or Government." Mayor Delavall accordingly brought him before the Council, who, finding him to be "a troublesome and mutinous person," committed him to the sheriff. The next day Milborne was set at liberty, and soon afterward returned to London, where he annoyed Andros.‡ 26 Decem.
Case of
Jacob Mil-
borne.

27 Decem.

* Gen. Ent., xxvii., 1; Col. Doc., iii., 273-276; Col. MSS., xxvii., 154, 155, 160, 167, 168; Col. Rec. Conn., iii., 258, 259, 490, 491, 494, 495, 503; Mass. Rec., v., 209, 300; *ante*, 312.

† Col. Doc., iii., 272, 276. Blathwayt, who had been secretary to Sir William Temple in Holland, raised himself from humble circumstances, and was "a very proper, handsome person, very dexterous in business." Temple, ii., 149, 156, 201; Evelyn, ii., 279.

‡ Col. Doc., iii., 277, 300, 301, 5-8, 621, 651; Doc. Hist., ii., 42; Col. MSS., xxvi., 139; Gen. Ent., xxvii., 19; *ante*, 196, *note*, 309. Andros's warrant of 27 December, 1678, directed Sheriff Ashton to take into his custody Jacob Milborne, "for clamoring and writing scurrilously against the magistracy and government of this place, particularly at his going off in November, 1677, and afore and since, without any complaint or known cause given, and now being arrived in the Beaver as a passenger to Boston, and upon examination by and before the Governor concerning the above, showing no cause or reason for his so doing, but giving further occasion by his comport."

CHAP. VII.

1678.

12 May.
Canadian
affairs.15 May.
Hudson's
Bay.La Salle
again in
Paris.12 May.
La Salle
authorized
to explore
the Missis-
sippi.

The English claim of sovereignty over the Iroquois, which Andros had asserted in the spring of 1677, proved Louis. In the unsettled condition of European politics, the French king could not take a decided stand about his interests in America. Nevertheless, he wrote to Frontenac, "I am well pleased to learn that you have always maintained my authority in the different treaties you have made with the Iroquois and other Indian tribes;—and in regard to the pretension of the English Major General [Andros], my intention is that you always contribute whatever lies in your power to maintain peace between the two nations, without, however, allowing any thing to be undertaken against the countries under my dominion." In the same spirit, Colbert instructed Duchesneau that French explorations toward Hudson's Bay were advantageous for the king's service, "in order to be able to contest the title thereto of the English, who pretend to take possession of it, although it lies within the limits of the countries appertaining to the Crown."^{*}

La Salle had meanwhile satisfied Colbert that a great trade might be established for the benefit of France in buffalo skins—called by the Spaniards "Cibola," after the town of that name on the Gila—one of which he brought to Paris as a sample, and from which hats were soon made "as beautiful as those from beaver." The only difficulty was that of transportation, for these skins were too bulky to be profitably carried in canoes through the Ottawa and the Saint Lawrence to Quebec. They must be shipped to Rochelle by a more direct route. La Salle therefore petitioned the king to let him "go and discover the mouth of the great River Meschasipi, on which vessels might be built to come to France." As he had been at great expense in maintaining Fort Frontenac, he also asked the exclusive privilege of trading in buffalo skins. Colbert gladly countersigned the decree of Louis, which authorized La Salle "to labour in the discovery of the western part of New France," and build necessary forts; and likewise granted him the monopoly of the buffalo fur trade.[†]

^{*} Col. Doc., ix., 128, 263, 794; La Potherie, i., 140, 143; Charlevoix, ii., 220-228; O'Brien, i., 544, 545; *ante*, 307.

[†] Col. Doc., ix., 127, 795; Hennepin's Louisiana, 14, 15; Sparks's La Salle, 12, 13, 14.

At the request of the Prince of Conty, who had befriended him at court, La Salle took into his enterprise Henry de Tonty, a son of the famous Italian author of the system called "Tontine," and who had served in the French army until its reduction at the Peace of Nimeguen. Embarking at Rochelle with Tonty, and La Motte as his lieutenant, and with abundant means of equipping vessels on the lakes, La Salle safely reached Quebec. His arrival startled the New York authorities, who heard that he had brought over five ships and two thousand men. Materials and artisans were quickly sent up to Fort Frontenac, where the Franciscans Hennepin, Membré, and Watteau now joined Ribourde and Buisset. An advanced party was dispatched to Michilimackinac, and one of La Salle's barks was sent with Tonty, La Motte, and Hennepin to Niagara. Sailing along the north shore of Lake Ontario—which the Iroquois called "*Skannadario*"—they entered the Niagara River on Saint Nicholas's Day, when a *Te Deum* was sung, and thanks were offered to God. The Senecas, who inhabited a little village on the shore of the green, deep river below the cataract, wondered at the "great wooden canoe" in which the strangers had come, and gave them three hundred delicious whitefish just taken from the lake. La Salle's vessel was secured from the floating ice; the first mass was said by Hennepin; and a bark cabin was built near the present village of Lewiston, under the awful roar of the falls.*

In executing his combined scheme of discovery and trade, La Salle now made the decisive mistake which produced most of the troubles he afterward suffered, and influenced, perhaps unhappily, the colonization of Western New France. A fort or magazine at Niagara was, of course, necessary. But the exploration of the Mississippi down to its mouth would have been most readily effected by descending the Alleghany from its near head-waters, and then the Ohio, which it was long ago known emptied

CHAP. VII.

1678.

July.
La Salle
embarks
with Tonty
and La
Motte.
August.

Nov.

Decem.
The
French at
Niagara.

Decem.

Decem.

183; Louisiana Hist. Coll., i., 35, 36; Shea's Discovery, 18, 88; ante, 308. The account in Charlevoix, ii., 265, is full of errors.

* Hennepin's Louisiana, 15-50; Nouvelle Découverte, 62-77; New Discovery, 40-51, 63; Col. MSS., xxvii., 177, 178; Shea's Discovery, 89, 90; N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 219-230; Louisiana Hist. Coll., i., 52, 53, 79, 196; Charlevoix, iii., 581, 385; Sparks's La Salle, 13-19, 203, 294; ante, i., 612; ii., 290.

La Salle's
mistake in
his route.

CHAP. VII. into the Great River. Instead of this, La Salle adopted Jolliet's roundabout plan, and resolved to build a vessel above Niagara, to traverse the upper lakes, and bring back thither cargoes of furs from the neighborhood of Chicago.*

1678.

27 Dec.
La Motte
and Hen-
nepin
among the
Senecas.

To quiet the jealousy of the savages, La Motte and Hennepin, with seven men, visited the Senecas. After five days' march over the snow and through forests, they reached the great village of "Totiakto," or "Tegarondies."†

1679. On New-year's day Hennepin preached in the bark chapel of the Jesuits in presence of the fathers Garnier and Raffeix.

1 Jan'y.

Conference
with the
Senecas.

A conference was then held with the great Seneca Council, which, in its gravity, resembled the Venetian Senate. Before any thing was said, La Motte declared that he would enter into no particulars in presence of Garnier, "whom he suspected." The Jesuit was ordered to withdraw, and Hennepin went out at the same time, "to bear part of the affront put upon him." After handsome presents, the Senecas were told that the French intended to build "a great wooden canoe" above the falls, by means of which they could be supplied with European commodities cheaper than by Boston and New York. A blacksmith and a gunsmith would also be settled at the mouth of the Niagara River. The Senecas replied, apparently approving the French proposals. But they really had a greater inclination for the Dutch and English, who afforded them European goods at cheaper rates. After witnessing the torture of a prisoner, whom one of the Seneca war-parties had taken "towards Virginia," La Motte and Hennepin retraced their way through the woods to the Niagara River.‡

2 Jan'y.

14 Jan'y.

20 Jan'y.
La Salle at
Niagara.

La Motte now returned to Canada, and soon afterward La Salle's cheerful voice was heard again at Niagara. He

* Hennepin's Louisiana, 2; Nouvelle Découverte, 25; Col. Doc., ix., 66, 83, 84, 179; Shea's Discovery, xxxv., xxxvi.; ante, 163, 241.

† Nouvelle Découverte, 81; New Discovery, 53, and Map; Pownall's Map of 1779. La Montan, i., 101, calls the village "Tegarondies." I think it must be another name for the chief Seneca village of Totlaeekto or Totiakto, or Conception, near Mendon, in Monroe County; although Mr. Marshall refers it to Gannagaro, or Saint James, near Victor, in Ontario County: see N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii. (ii.), 160, 162, 180, 191; Marshall's "Niagara Frontier," 14; Col. Doc., ix., 334, 364-367; Col. MSS., xxxv., 160; ante, 179.

‡ Hennepin's Louisiana, 31-40; Nouvelle Découverte, 75-92; New Discovery, 29-61; Lou. Hist. Coll., i., 197-199. With his constitutional tendency to falsehood, Hennepin represents the Falls of Niagara to be "more than five hundred feet," and "above six hundred feet high." The exaggeration is copied in the spurious work attributed to Tonty, in N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 228. The Jesuit Relation of 1648, p. 46, described it, thirty years before, as "*une chute d'eau d'une effroyable hauteur*." The actual average height of the cataract is one hundred and sixty feet.

had come from Fort Frontenac in one of his barks with supplies for his projected vessel on Lake Erie, but he had been wrecked by his pilots within two leagues of the mouth of the river, at a place which his sailors named the "Mad Cape." On his way La Salle revisited the Senecas, and gained them so that they consented to his designs. Yet "certain persons" made it their business to thwart him, and filled the savages with such jealousy of a fort, that La Salle was obliged to content himself with "a habitation encompassed with palisades." With a fine harbor and excellent fishing, it commanded the New York side of the Niagara River mouth, and was named Fort Conty. La Salle then went two leagues above the cataract, and laid out a dock in which to build his vessel, upon a stream flowing into the river on its west side, now known as Cayuga Creek. The keel was quickly laid by La Salle, who, leaving Tonty in command, hurried back over the snow to Fort Frontenac. During the rest of the winter, which was not half as severe as that in Canada, bark cabins were built by Mahican savages who had accompanied Hennepin. One of these was used as a chapel, in which, for the first time on the western border of New York, Gregorian music was given by practiced European tenors, with the tremendous bass of Niagara.*

The Senecas, who had faithfully reported La Salle's movements to Andros, now refused to sell corn to the French, and threatened to burn their little ship in her dock. This quickened Canadian work; and, under Hennepin's blessing, the singing of "*Te Deum Laudamus*," and the firing of guns, the first European vessel built in Western New York was launched on the upper Niagara. It could carry sixty tons, and it was named the "Griffin," to compliment Frontenac, whose armorial supporters were two griffins. Amazed to see this brigantine afloat, the savages pronounced its French builders "Otkon," which meant, in their tongue, *most penetrating wits*. Pictorially they described the vessel as "a moving fort."

* Hennepin's Louisiana, 25, 31, 32, 41, 42; Nouvelle Découverte, 92-96; New Discovery, 50, 61-63; Len. Hist. Coll., i., 168; N. Y. H. S. Coll., ii., 239; Col. Doc., iii., 510; v., 633; ix., 335, 341, 382; Doc. Hist., iii., 726; Marshall's Niagara Frontier, 28, 29; Bancroft, iii., 163; Sparks's La Salle, 20, 21, 22; *ante*, 163, 164. The name of La Salle is commemorated in that of the village at the mouth of the Cayuga Creek, in the County of Niagara; and the dock which he built there is still known as "the old ship-yard."

CHAP. VII.
1679.

Fort
Conty.

22 Jan'y.

26 Jan'y.
Keel of a
vessel laid
above Ni-
agara.

Chapel.

Enmity of
the Senec-
cas.

May.

Launch of
the Griffin.

CHAP. VII.

1679.

27 May.
La Salle
among the
Senecas.

Hennepin now hastened to Cataracouy to bring some of his Franciscan brethren; and Ribourde, Membré, and Watteau accompanied him to Niagara. La Salle followed them in a canoe along the southern shore of Ontario. On his way he visited the Seneca villages again, where he met Garnier and Raffeix, and learned that the Miamis and Father Allouez were endeavoring to rouse the Iroquois to war with the Illinois. This purpose was checked by the timely presents of La Salle. On reaching the Niagara River, he stationed the Father Melithon Watteau at the magazine there. Meanwhile the Griffin—completely equipped, and armed with five small guns—had been towed up to the outlet of “the beautiful Lake Erie,” where the savages “cried several times *Gannoron*, to signify their admiration.” News of the event was quickly sent by them to Andros at New York. At length, all things being ready, La Salle went on board with Hennepin, Ribourde, and Membré, and thirty others; and the Griffin set sail with a favorable wind up Lake Erie, which was now named “Conty,” in honor of the great French subject who had befriended the enterprise at Paris.*

3 July.

7 August.
La Salle
embarks
on Lake
Erie, or
Conty.

25 April.

6 Novem.
Frontenac
complains
of Andros.

14 Nov.

Louis now directed Frontenac again to “constantly maintain peace, friendship, and good correspondence with the English and Dutch, without, however, foregoing any of the rights and advantages appertaining either to my crown or my subjects in that country.” In his reply, the governor complained of the intrigues of Andros among the Iroquois to make them “break” with the French, and of his efforts to thwart La Salle. At the same time, he urged that a French garrison should be maintained at Chambly, through which almost all the communication was carried on between Canada and the English colonies. As there were now rumors of fresh hostilities in Europe, Duchesneau, the intendant, sent an interesting dispatch to Seignelay, who had succeeded Colbert, his father, in the ministry of the colonies, showing that a war with New York and New England would be to the advantage of Canada.†

* Hennepin's *Louisiana*, 42-50; *Nouvelle Découverte*, 97-121; *New Discovery*, 63-75, 214; *Lon. Hist. Coll.*, i., 199, 200; *La Potherie*, ii., 136; *Col. Doc.*, iii., 273; ix., 118, 167, 204, 213, 216, 232; *Sheaf's Discovery*, 69, 90, 91, 154; *Missions*, 411, 412; *N. Y. H. S. Coll.*, ii., 228-231; *Sparks's La Salle*, 22-26; Bancroft, iii., 164; *Hist. Mag.*, v., 198.

† *Col. Doc.*, ix., 128-139, 149, 411, 795; *Martin's Louis XIV.*, i., 121, 496; ii., 1.

The Jesuit missionaries among the Iroquois were now somewhat changed. Bruyas, to whom Andros had always been civil, left Tionmontoguen, where he was replaced by the Father Vaillant de Gueslis, and took charge of the Residence at the Sault Saint Louis, in place of Frémin, who returned to France. James de Lamberville remained at Caghawaga. Millet continued in charge of the Oneida mission. John de Lamberville, the superior of the Iroquois missions, labored at Onondaga. Carheil ministered quietly to the Cayugas. Pierron having left the Senecas, Garnier and Raffeix remained in charge of all the villages of that nation. At this period the "Relations" close, and we miss hereafter their interesting details.*

CHAP. VII.

1679.

Jesuits
among the
Iroquois.

The Governor of Maryland had meanwhile written to New York that "strange Indians" had again done mischief along the Susquehanna; and Sir Edmund had assured him that the Senecas and Mohawks, "having been always very good and faithfull to this Government," could not have been the offenders. Colonel Herbert Jeffreys, the acting governor of Virginia, also complained of the mischiefs done to that colony and Maryland by "unknown Indians," in breach of Coursey's treaty; and Andros sent the two Indian interpreters, Arnout and Daniel, in the depth of winter, to invite the Iroquois to Albany. Swerise, one of the sachems of the Oneidas, accordingly came there, and excused his nation by laying the blame on the people of Schenectady, who, they said, had misrepresented the designs of the English. Some captives were restored, and Andros received the thanks of Virginia and Maryland. A few months afterward the Oneidas again visited Albany, and Swerise, as their spokesman, declared to Sir Edmund's commissioners, "Corlaer governs the whole land from New York to Albany, and from thence to the Seneca's land; we, who are his subjects, shall faithfully keep the covenant chain." * * * * "Corlaer's limits, as we have said, stretch so far even to *Jacob* my Friend, or *Jacob* Young." But, as the Onondagas and Cayugas claimed the land lying on the Susquehanna River by right of conquest

1678.

23 August.
Correspondence with
Maryland
and Vir-
ginia.

1679.

15 Feby.
Iroquois at
Albany.

24 May.

"Corlaer
governs
the whole
land."

* Col. Doc., iv., 607; ix., 129, 130, 171, 174, 239, 720, 762, 838; Rel., 1673-9, 140, 204, 283; Dorniol's Missions, ii., 196, 197, 559; Shea's Missions, 274, 277, 286, 289, 293, 294; ante, 299, 307. Colden, i., 41, errs in stating that in 1679 there were French priests among the Oneidas, Onondagas, and Cayugas only, and none among the Mohawks and Senecas.

CHAP. VII. from the Andastes or Conestogas, they now transferred it
 1679. to the government of New York "to rule over it," so that it could not be sold "without Corlaer's order."*

Virginia, being still troubled, sent Colonels William Kendall and Southley Littleton to confer with the New York Indians. They were courteously received by Andros and his Council, and then went up to Albany, where Salisbury was instructed to aid them all he could. The Iroquois were accordingly summoned to a conference; but they were delayed by the small-pox, which desolated their villages, and Littleton died at Albany before the savages arrived. Kendall, however, renewed a peace with the Onondas, Mohawks, and Senecas. The Onondagas came later, and Kendall addressed them as he had done their brethren. Yet, in spite of all promises, the young Iroquois braves could not be restrained from new incursions toward the South.†

By advice of his Council, Andros meanwhile visited Pemaquid to "take order about the settlement of planters or inhabitants, trade, and all other matters." On his return to the metropolis, after attending to local affairs, and the autumn session of the Court of Assizes, the governor went up to Albany, where Iroquois complications and the regulation of the frontier towns of the province demanded his personal presence.‡

In the autumn of this year two Dutch "Labadists," Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, came from Wiewerd, in Friesland, to view the New World, and select a place to establish a colony of their religious community. These Labadists were disciples of Jean de Labadie, a French enthusiast, holding the doctrines of the Reformed Dutch Church, but adopting other opinions and practices not recognized by that Church. The travelers were shrewd and observing men, and the narrative of their journey is an interest-

* Col. Doc., iii., 271, 277, 278, 322, 417; Council Min., iii. (ii.), 182; Col. MSS., xxviii., 2; Colden, i., 38-42, 55; first edit., 32-42, 64; Doc. Hist., i., 261; Hennepin, *Nouv. Déc.*, 90; Chalmers, i., 329, 351; *ante*, 102, 287, 309. Jacob Young was an Indian interpreter who lived at the head of the Chesapeake Bay, back of Newcastle: Col. Doc., iii., 322, 323, 344; S. Hazard, *Ann.*, 473.

† Col. Doc., iv., 120, 131; Col. MSS., xxviii., 120-123, 125, 131; Colden, i., 42, 43, 44; first ed., 42-43. Neither Beverley nor Burk notice this mission from Virginia.

‡ Council Min., vi. (ii.), 18; Pemaquid Papers, 32, 33; Col. Doc., iii., 272; Col. MSS., xxviii., 2, 123, 131-134; R. I. Rec., iii., 54; Arnold, i., 455; Dankers and Sluyter's *Journ.*, iii., 167, 253; *ante*, 519.

ing contemporaneous account of the condition of New York and its neighborhood.*

CHAP. VII.

1679.

The four Dutch ministers in the province were now called on to perform a very important office. Before the arrival of Van Gaasbeeck, the church at Kingston had been supplied by Petrus Tesschenmaecker, a young "Proponent," or licensed Bachelor in Divinity, who had recently been graduated from the University of Utrecht, and had come from Guiana to New York in the spring of 1678. The following autumn Tesschenmaecker went to Newcastle, where the congregation called him to be their minister, although he had never been ordained. To remedy this, the delegates from that church asked the provincial Dutch clergymen to form themselves into a "Classis" and ordain the candidate, without obliging him to go to Holland for holy orders. This was a novel question. Up to this time the Classis of Amsterdam alone had sent over Dutch ministers to New York, and those now settled there did not assume the power of ordaining others. Andros, who was anxious to have a Dutch clergyman settled on the Delaware, relieved the New York domines from responsibility by an official direction to Van Nieuwenhuysen, and "any three or more of the Ministers or Pastors within this Government," to examine Tesschenmaecker, and, if they should find him qualified, to ordain him "into the ministry of the Protestant Reformed Church." Accordingly, the Dutch clergymen, Schaats of Albany, Van Nieuwenhuysen of New York, Van Zuuren of Long Island, and Van Gaasbeeck of Esopus, met at New York, with their elders; formed themselves into a Classis; and, after examining Tesschenmaecker, ordained him as a minister of the Gospel, according to the ritual of the Reformed Dutch Church. None of the other provincial clergymen assisted; neither the English chaplain Wolley, nor the Lutherans Arensius and Lokenius, nor the Presbyterians on Long Island. It was wholly a Classis of the Reformed Church of Holland—the first ever held in America—and its proceedings, which had been originated by the Episcopalian governor of New York, were approved

Petrus
Tesschen-
maecker.

30 Septem.
Andros di-
rects the
examina-
tion of
Tesschen-
maecker.

9 October.
The Dutch
ministers
ordain
Tesschen-
maecker.

* The Journal of Dankers and Slyter, in 1679 and 1680, was published in 1867 by the Long Island Historical Society, under the supervision of Mr. Henry C. Murphy, who procured the original manuscript in Holland, and translated and annotated this precious memorial with excellent scholarship.

CHAP. VII. by the supreme ecclesiastical judicature at Amsterdam charged with the affairs of colonial Dutch churches.*

1679.

17 Decem.

The law of New York was now settled on an important point. Twenty-one metropolitan coopers signed an agreement to charge certain prices for their labor; and that, if any of them should sell his work under their own arbitrary prices, he should be fined fifty shillings "for the use of the

1680.

8 Jan'y.
Coopers
fined for
unlawful
combination.

poor." For this agreement the conspiring laborers were summoned before the governor and council, and Mayor Rombouts, who adjudged them guilty of an unlawful combination, and sentenced each signer to pay a fine of fifty shillings "to the church, or pious uses." This decision was founded on the laws of England, which declared such confederating modern "strikers" to be "infamous," and punished them by fine and imprisonment.†

17 Jan'y.
20 Jan'y.
New regulations
about bolting
and exporting
flour.

The previous legislation in regard to the bolting and inspection of flour having been ineffectual, and complaints being made of the loss which trade suffered, it was ordered in council that for the future no mills be allowed to bolt, nor flour to be packed for exportation, but at the city of New York; and that all bolting or exporting that commodity must be freemen or burghers. This new regulation was strictly enforced. For fourteen years the metropolis enjoyed a monopoly which helped her inevitable growth, and especially advantaged her coopers, who had just been punished for "striking." But her shoemakers were

24 Jan'y.
Shoemakers
not to tan
hides.

forbidden to tan hides; and it was proposed to require all leather to be imported. Happily, this restriction—intended to benefit the merchant at the expense of the producer—was not carried into effect.‡

An important measure in regard to Indian slaves was now adopted. It had been the practice to discriminate be-

* Corr. Class. Amst., Letters of 25 October, 1679, 2 April, 1680; Dankers and Sluyter's Jour., 111, 222; Col. MSS., xxviii., 132; Gen. Ent., xxii., 61; Doc. Hist., iii., 583, *ante* Murphy's Selyns, 62, 101; Demaree's Hist. Ref. D. C., 183, 184; N. Y. Christ. Int., 19 Oct., 1865; Hist. Mag., Nov., 1865. Laurentius van Gaasbeeck came to Kingston as the successor of Blom in September, 1678, at the request of the elders and deacons of the Dutch Church there, with the approbation of Andros, and under the authority of the Classis of Amsterdam: Cor. Cl. Amst., MSS.; O'Call., ii., 472. Van Gaasbeeck died in February, 1684, and was succeeded by Johannes Weecksteen, from Haarlem, in 1681: Col. MS., xxix., 295; Doc. Hist., iii., 5-3; Cor. Cl. Amst.; Dankers and Sluyter's Journal, 276; Hist. Mag. (dial.), 333.

† Col. MSS., xxix., 2, 3, 19; Val. Man., 1860, 425, 426; Statutes 2 and 3 Edw. VI., cap. 15, 22 and 23 Charles II., cap. 19; Saint Paul's Epistle to Timothy I., iii. 3, and to Titus, i. 7.

‡ Col. MSS., xxix., 2, 19, 29, 32, 39, 84, 187; Minutes of Com. Council, i., 147; Col. Doc., iii., 315, 358, 351, 797; v., 57, 58; Dankers and Sluyter's Jour., 334-357; Dunlap, ii., 477, cxxvi.; *ante*, 318.

tween the free natives of New York and others, especially those of the Spanish West Indies, many of whom were held in bondage. It was now resolved in council that all Indians are free and not slaves, and can not be forced to be servants, unless those formerly brought from the Bay of Campeachy or other foreign parts. This was followed by a formal order "That all Indians here have always been and are free, and not slaves, except such as have been formerly brought from the bay or other foreign parts. But if any shall be brought hereafter into the government, within the space of six months, they are to be disposed of, as soon as may be, out of the government. But after the expiration of the said six months, all that shall be brought here from those parts and landed, to be as other free Indians."^{*}

CHAP. VII.

1679.

5 Decem.

1680.

20 April.
Imported
Indian
slaves de-
clared free.

The Dutch Church in the fort had now become too small to accommodate its congregation, and its present condition was not convenient either for the people or for the government. At the suggestion of Andros, a meeting was held to consider the best means to build a new one, which was attended by several members of the council and other leading citizens, besides Domine van Nieuwenhuisen and the Episcopalian chaplain Wolley. It was determined, by a vote of ten to three, to raise money by "free will or gift," and not by a public tax; but, if that should fail, to appeal to the governor. It was agreed that the new church should be a quarter larger than that in the fort, which was fifty-four feet wide. Andros, warmly approving the project, directed that the surplus moneys raised under his letter of August, 1678, for the redemption of the captives in Turkey, should be applied toward the new church, and contributed fifty pounds himself. The mayor and aldermen also appropriated certain fines, and a plot of ground was selected on which to build the church as soon as possible.[†]

30 June.
Arrange-
ments for
building a
new Dutch
church.

Wolley, the duke's Episcopalian chaplain, soon afterward went home to seek preferment in England, with a

^{*} Col. MSS., xxviii., 161, 173; xxix., 86; Min. of N. Y. Com. Council, i., 142; Dunlap, ii., App., cxxix.; *ante*, 140. Notwithstanding this order, foreign Indians were for a long time held as slaves in New York, as they were in Massachusetts and other English dependencies.

[†] Doc. Hist., iii., 244, 265; Col. MSS., xxviii., 26, 27; xxix., 141; Gen. Ent., xxvii., 65; Col. Doc., iii., 315, 415, 717; Letter of Selyns to Claess, 28 October, 1682; *ante*, 319. Dr. De Witt, in his sermon (August, 1856, p. 26), erroneously places "the first steps" in 1687; see Records of the Collegiate Dutch Church, Liber A., p. 161, 162.

CHAP. VII.

1680.

15 July.
Chaplain
Wolley re-
turns to
England.

certificate from Andros that he had "comported himself unblameable in his life and conversation." After his return Wolley prepared "A two years' Journal in New York," etc., which was published in London in 1701. Encumbered with pedantry, and fuller of detail about the native savages than the European colonists, Wolley's Journal, nevertheless, gives valuable information concerning the province in 1680. In respect to the metropolis, where he lived for two years, the lately returned chaplain declared New York to be "a place of as sweet and agreeable air as ever I breathed in, and the inhabitants, both English and Dutch, very civil and courteous, as I may speak by experience, amongst whom I have often wished myself and family, to whose tables I was frequently invited, and always concluded with a generous bottle of Madeira."*

1679.

3 April.
Trouble be-
tween New
York and
New Jer-
sey.

The Duke of York's customs' regulations had meanwhile proved so annoying to East Jersey, that its Assembly passed an act to indemnify any vessel which, coming into that province by way of Sandy Hook, and entering and clearing at Elizabethtown, might be seized by the government of New York. Carteret accordingly proclaimed that all bottoms coming to East Jersey should be free. Upon this, one Mr. Hooper ordered a ketch from Barbadoes to go thither; but Andros made her enter and pay duties in New York before he would allow her to proceed to Jersey and land her cargo of rum. Sir Edmund also sent Collector Dyer to England to answer any complaints. The Duke of York being absent in Flanders, Secretary Werden appears to have given directions to Dyer, with which he returned to New York in the following December. Andros soon afterward went over to Staten Island, and invited Carteret to meet him there, "to negotiate in peace and friendship."

1680.

8 March.
Andros
notifies
Carteret.

The Jersey governor having declined this overture, Sir Edmund sent him copies of Charles's patent to James, and of the duke's commission to himself; and he directed Carteret to forbear exercising "any jurisdiction"

* Gen. Ent., xxxii. 93, 94; Hist. Mag., I. 371; *ante*, 318. A reprint of Wolley's Journal was published by W. Gowans (who misprints the name "Weoley") in 1800. It does not equal in interest the contemporaneous observations of Dankers and Slayter; but, in connection with that book, and Secretary Nicolls's account in Scott's "Model" (128-144), it leaves little unknown about New York and New Jersey in 1680. I regret that the limits of this volume do not allow me to quote some interesting descriptions of the metropolis, and of Esopus, Albany, and Long Island, their people, magistrates, and others.

in any part of the territory thus granted by the king to the duke, without due authority recorded in New York. More-
 over, Andros added, "it being necessary for the king's service, and welfare of his Majesty's subjects living or trading in these parts, that beacons for land or sea marks for shipping sailing in and out, and a fortification, be erected at Sandy Point, I have resolved it accordingly;—but, having due regard to all rights or proprieties of land or soil, shall be ready to pay or give just satisfaction."²⁹

CHAP. VII.

1680.

Andros proposes beacons and a fort at Sandy Hook.

This letter made a hubbub at Elizabethtown. After advising with his council, Carteret informed Andros that if he attempted to build a fort at Sandy Hook he would be resisted until the proprietor's pleasure be known, "he having reserved that for a fortification, when the king shall command it." In the mean time, Sir Edmund had sent Secretary Nicolls with a proclamation forbidding Carteret from exercising any jurisdiction within the duke's province, and commanding all persons to submit "to the king's lawful authority" as established in New York. On receiving this, Carteret protested, and appealed to the king, "who only can determine this matter."²⁹

29 March. Carteret's reply to Andros.

13 March. Andros's proclamation.

29 March.

Andros soon went over to New Jersey. The rumor of his coming went before him, and Carteret gathered a large force to oppose the Governor of New York. But, as he came without soldiers, Andros was invited ashore with his attendants, and went up to Carteret's house. Patents and commissions were produced on each side, and long arguments followed, without result. After dinner, Carteret accompanied Sir Edmund Andros back to his sloop. Three weeks afterward, having tried various devices, Governor Andros ordered some soldiers to Elizabethtown, who broke open Carteret's house in the dead of night; "halled" him out of his bed; and brought him a naked prisoner to

7 April. Andros at Elizabethtown.

20 April.

* Leaming and Spicer, 112-137, 673; Col. MSS., xxix., 55; Col. Doc., iii., 268, 322; iv., 332; Warr., Ord., Passes, iii., 63, 254; Chalmers, Ann., i., 618; Index N. J. Col. Doc., 7; Whitehead's E. J., 70, 77-79, 82; Hatfield's Eliz., 159, 190; Evelyn, ii., 136; Dankers and Sluyter, 196, 255, 261, 347; ante, 261-270, 303, 305, 312. It is stated, in Collins's Peerage, iv., 212 (2d ed., 1741), that the king's vice-chamberlain, Sir George Carteret, died on the 13th of January, 1679, in the eightieth year of his age. There seem to be some writers who do not yet apprehend that the "old style" prevailed in England until 1753; so that the English year 1679 ended on 24 March, 1680, "new style," and that consequently Sir George Carteret died 13 January, 1680, according to our present reckoning.

+ Gen. Ent., xxxii., 72, 73; Col. MSS., xxix., 61-64, 68, 69; Min. of N. Y. Common Council, i., 137, 138; Leaming and Spicer, 674-677; Whitehead, 71, 72; Newark Town Rec., 75; Dankers and Sluyter, 277, 347.

CHAP. VII. New York. There, ill and forlorn, Carteret was committed to the custody of Sheriff Collyer, on a charge of unlawfully assuming jurisdiction over the king's subjects. A special Court of Assizes was ordered; before which Carteret was arraigned for trial, on an indictment for riotously presuming "to exercise jurisdiction and government over his Majesty's subjects within the bounds of his Majesty's letters Patents granted to His Royal Highness." Sir Edmund was conducted by trumpeters to the tribunal, over which he presided on a higher seat than usual. Carteret protested against the jurisdiction of the New York court. Being overruled, he averred his conduct as Governor of New Jersey "to be legal, and by virtue of power derived from the King." His commission and other documents were submitted to the jury, which brought in a verdict of "Not Guilty." This did not satisfy Andros, who sent the jurors out twice and thrice; each time with new charges.* At length a verdict of acquittal was recorded. Nevertheless, Carteret was obliged to give security that, if he went to New Jersey, he would not "assume any authority or jurisdiction there, civil or military."†

Carteret
tried and
acquitted.

Sir Edmund, accompanied by Lady Andros, now escorted Carteret back to Elizabethtown with great pomp, and endeavored to induce the Assembly to confirm his proceedings, and adopt the Duke's Laws, in force in New York, with such amendments as might be desirable. The Jersey Assembly, however, adhered to their own laws, which they presented to Andros for his approval. Yet the authority of the Governor of New York was not disputed, and civil and military officers were commissioned by him to act in Newark, Elizabethtown, Woodbridge, Burlington, and elsewhere. An account of these transactions was sent by the deposed governor to Lady Carteret; and Bollen, who was now in London, was desired to move the Commissioners of Customs and others in favor of East Jersey, and watch Dyer, who was intending to return to England, "that he

2 June.
Carteret
again in
New
Jersey.

11 June.
Andros's
govern-
ment.
9 June.
25 July.

5 July.

* It was said that "one Jackson, a jurymen, occasionally speaking to the Governor, said that he hoped they had the same privileges as the other Plantations. The Governor answered that their privileges hung on a slender thread, and that he was chidden for giving them such liberties." But Andros afterward denied that he "ever spoke any such words;" and Nicolls and Dyer, who were present in court all the time, heard nothing from the governor to any such purpose: Col. Dec., iii., 315.

† Leaming and Spicer, 678-684; Gen. Ent., xxxii., 77, 78; Col. MSS., xxix., 78, 93, 102-104; Whitehead, 73, 74; Dankers and Sluyter, 317-351.

doth not swear and romance against us, as he did the time before."^{* CHAP. VII.}

The spring of this year was marked by an attempt of Connecticut to include Fisher's Island within her jurisdiction. Andros at once wrote to Leete that the island had been granted by Nicolls to the late Governor Winthrop, and that any proceedings "intrenching" on the authority of New York must be forborne, "to prevent greater inconveniences." The Connecticut court resolved that they would exercise government over the island, and prohibited obedience to Sir Edmund. This bluster ended the matter. The son of Winthrop was obliged to recognize the jurisdiction of New York, under which the island has ever since remained without question.[†]

The affairs of Pemaquid requiring attention, Knapton, the late commander, and John West, were commissioned as special justices of the peace, and Henry Joecelyn and others appointed a Court of Sessions. The commissioners were also directed to visit Fisher's Island, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket, and see that proper officers were established there. On their return, Knapton and West reported their proceedings; and Ensign Thomas Sharpe, the present commander at Pemaquid, and the justices there, were ordered to inform the Eastern savages that the governor had forbidden the Mohawks to make incursions, and that there must be no more "warring" between the Indians subject to New York.[‡]

At the Court of Assizes this autumn, besides the usual members, justices attended from New Jersey, Nantucket, and Pemaquid. There were thirty members present, including Sir Edmund Andros, "who was a good lawyer." John West was now appointed clerk of the court, as well

^{*} Learning and Spicer, 650-655; Col. MSS., xxix., 98-101, 106-124, 127, 144, 153, 154, 163, 175, 179, 184, 194, 199; Gen. Ent., xxxii., 94, 95, 97; Whitehead, 74, 75; Newark Town Rec., 79; Dankers and Sluyter, 346, 351. It appears that when Carteret was seized at Elizabethtown, Bollen and Vanquellen secured his most important papers, and hastened to England, the former by way of Boston, and the latter by Maryland: Dankers and Sluyter, 349; Hatfield, 193.

[†] Gen. Ent., xxxii., 75, 99; Col. MSS., xxix., 156; Pemaquid Papers, 35; Col. Rec. Conn., iii., 64, 253; Dankers and Sluyter, 370; Trumbull, i., 375; Thompson, i., 359, 390; N. Y. Revised Statutes, iii., 2; *ante*, 139.

[‡] Gen. Ent., xxxii., 92, 93; Col. MSS., xxix., 99, 136, 137, 213; Ord., Warr., etc., xxxiiij., 1-4; Pemaquid Papers, 33-44; Nantucket Pap., 116-123. West had been a lawyer at New York, deputy clerk of the Mayor's Court, and clerk of Sessions on Long Island, and had returned from England with Andros in 1675: C. Weller, 5, 76; *ante*, 219.

CHAP. VII. as clerk of the council, and also provincial secretary in place of Nicolls, who was about going to England. At the request of the metropolitan mayor and aldermen, West was soon afterward appointed clerk of the City and County of New York.*

1680.
8 Novem.

13 October.
Andros at
Boston.

9 Novem.

10 Novem.

Randolph
returns
from En-
gland.
25 Jan'y.

8 April.

As soon as the Court of Assizes adjourned, Sir Edmund hastened to Boston, by invitation of Lord Culpepper, the Governor of Virginia, who was there on his way back to England. The General Court of Massachusetts was then in session; and Pyncheon, who had written to Andros for leave to treat with the Mohawks at Albany, was directed to go thither, and, with the advice of the New York authorities there, procure a renewal of the covenant made in April, 1677. An interview was accordingly held, in the presence of Brockholls and the Albany officers, at which the Mohawks, whom Andros had forbidden to send parties eastward, agreed to lay down the axe, and be at peace with the New England Indians.†

After the return of Andros, Randolph remained in London more than a year, occupied by the affairs of Massachusetts. The intended alterations in the government of that colony were, however, avoided by the skill of her agents, Stoughton and Bulkley, in disposing of her bribes "to persons then in a great station at Court." Having been appointed collector of the customs in New England, Randolph returned with Dyer to New York, whence he went to Boston. There he was so obstructed in executing his office, that he sent home bitter complaints. As the best remedy, Randolph recommended the abrogation of the

* Ord., Warr., etc., xxxliij, c. 7; Col. MSS., xxix., 224; Col. Doc., iii., 203, 314, 315, 657; Wood, 149; Val. Man., 1553, 330, 331; Bancroft, ii., 428; C. Wolley, 70. Besides Governor Andros, the members of the Court of Assizes, in October, 1680, were Secretary Nicolls, Counsellors Dyer, Phillipse, Dervall, and Van Cortlandt, Mayor Rombout, and the metropolitan aldermen Beckman, Van Bunch, Lewis, Marins, Verplanck, and Wilson; Richard Betts, high-sheriff of Long Island, or Yorkshire; Justices Topping, Arnold, Woodhull, and Wood, of the East Riding, Willett, of the North Riding, and Hubbard, Elbertsen, and Palmer, of the West Riding of Long Island; Teller and Van Dyck, of Albany; Delavall, of Esopus; Spaswill, Browne, and Parker, of New Jersey; Gardiner, of Nantucket; and Knapton and West, of Pemaquid. Salisbury, the commandant at Albany, having died in the winter, was succeeded by Brockholls in the spring of 1680; Hist. Mag., iv., 50; *ante*, 312, 328.

† Col. Doc., iii., 244, 302, 308; ix., 149-145, 795, 796; Chalmers, i., 314, 438; Hutchinson, i., 322; Bark, ii., 226; Palfrey, iii., 342; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxv., 52; Mass. Rec., v., 599, 300, 319, 320; Col. MSS., xxix., 196; *ante*, 369. Colden does not mention this conference. As Robert Livingston was then in New York, asking leave to buy lands on Roeloff Jansen's kill, his duties as secretary were performed by Richard Pretty: Ord., Warr., etc., xxxliij, 13, 14; Doc. Hist., iii., 367. An account of Culpepper's visit to Boston is in Campbell's Virginia, 312, 329, 330, 349-355; see also Mass. H. S. Coll., v., 124.

Massachusetts charter by a writ of *Quo Warranto*. That CHAP. VII. result, indeed, could scarcely have been averted, except by the submission of the recusant corporation. Yet it obstinately disobeyed the king's orders to send over new agents; and, while it could afford to buy territory in Maine, and bribe venal courtiers in London, pleaded poverty to excuse contumacy. This policy was neither manly nor wise. The local rulers of Massachusetts knew that they were the creatures of the King of England. Nevertheless, they affected a braggart independence of him. Neither ready nor willing to renounce subjection to England, the Puritan corporation clung to her royal charter as "the ark of her safety." If the inhabitants of Massachusetts had then been allowed to make a Constitution for themselves, they would hardly have intrusted to a sectarian oligarchy the power which had been abused by the grantees of "Charles the Martyr." Yet, as an English corporation, the ruling power in Massachusetts tried to maintain the inconsistent attitude of loyalty and rebellion; and, professing to be "humbly bold," demonstrated absurd weakness. Bradstreet, the governor of the corporation, however, sent a dutiful reply to the inquiries of the Plantation Committee at London. In this interesting paper he complained that Andros had laid heavy duties on the Pemaquid fishermen for the benefit of the Duke of York; and, at the same time, reported that a Boston vessel brought from Africa "betwixt forty and fifty negroes, most women and children, sold here for ten, fifteen, and twenty pounds apiece, which stood the merchants in near forty pounds apiece, one with another. Now and then, two or three negroes are brought hither from Barbadoes, and other of his Majesty's Plantations, and sold here for about twenty pounds apiece; so that there may be within our government about one hundred, or one hundred and twenty." At this time a good negro was worth about thirty-five pounds in New York; but, as the climate of Massachusetts was less genial to the African, he did not sell for quite so much there, when freshly imported into slavery.*

1680.

11 June.

Policy of
Massachu-
setts.18 May.
Brad-
street's
report.Negro
slaves in
Massachu-
setts.

* Mass. H. S. Coll., xxviii., 330-340; xxx., 256; xxxii., 288-292; Mass. Rec., v., 270-289; Hutch. Mass., i., 324-325; Coll., 485, 495, 519-526; Chalmers, i., 45-410, 438-440, 509; Barry, i., 462-464; Palirey, iii., 314-340, 337, 368; Col. Doc., iii., 261, 263; Story's Miscellany, 69; Moore's Notes on Slavery in Mass., 49; ante, 313, 319.

CHAP. VII.

Rhode Island reported to the Plantation Committee that there were "only a few blacks imported" into that colony. Plymouth represented that "slaves we have very few, except Indian women and boys taken in the late war." Connecticut answered that since Sir Edmund Andros came to New York, her correspondence with him was not "like what it was with his predecessors in that government;" that her chief trade was with Boston; that she had about thirty slaves; and that sometimes three or four blacks a year were imported from Barbadoes, who were usually sold at the rate of twenty-two pounds apiece.*

1680.

8 May.
30 June.15 July.
Reports of
Rhode Isl.
and, Plym-
outh, and
Connecti-
cut.

1679.

29 May.
Habeas
Corpus
Act in En-
gland.Freedom of
the press.

In the mean time, England had been convulsed by Titus Oates's story of a "Popish Plot," and its Protestantism was whipped into violent excess. In the height of this fanaticism the king prorogued Parliament, after assenting to what is familiarly known as the "Habeas Corpus" Act—chiefly due to Shaftesbury, and which may be considered to be, perhaps, the most meritorious work of his life. This statute, however, did not extend to the English Colonies or Plantations; just as the Test Act of 1673 did not affect them, as has been already explained. The same day the censorship of the English press expired with the law which authorized the abomination.†

Tories and
Whigs.

These events gave rise to two remarkable party appellatives, which have ever since been familiar in England. The friends of the king and his brother were nick-named "*Tories*," as were the Roman Catholic Irish Robbers, known as "Rapparees" and "White Boys;" while those who desired a Protestant English sovereign were designated "*Whigs*," as the persecuted Scotch Covenanters were then called. These political epithets—at first given in derision and accepted in bravado—have continued to distinguish the conservative and the progressive parties in English local strifes.

The Duke
of York.

The Duke of York, threatened by the House of Commons with exclusion from the throne on account of his

* Chalmers's Ann., i., 232-234, 307-310; Arnold, i., 483-491; R. I. Rec., iii., 73, 86; Col. Rec. Conn., iii., 290-303; Mass. H. S. Coll., xxxv., 52; Palfrey, iii., 420-423; Moore's Notes on Slavery in Mass., 41; *ante*, 296.

† Statute 31 Charles II., cap. ii.; Parl. Hist., iv., 601, 1148; Kennett, iii., 377; Bayly, i., 675, 707; Lingard, xiii., 123, 124, 165; Macaulay, i., 248; Burnet, i., 485; ii., i, 31; Jacob, i., iii., 227; Chalmers's Ann., i., 56, 74; ii., 72, 113; Rev. Col., i., 236, 298, 305, 412; N. Y. H. S. Coll., 1868, 72, 113; Coll. Doc., iii., 357; iv., 264; *ante*, 201, 202, *note*.

Roman faith, was obliged to withdraw from England; first to Brussels, and then to Scotland, where he remained until February, 1680, when he returned to London. During these exciting movements James had little time for the affairs of his American province. But he was now compelled to look anxiously into them.*

CHAP. VII.
1680.

The complaints which the Quakers settled in West Jersey had sent home of their treatment by Andros were so strongly supported, that Sir John Werden inquired officially of the English Secretary of State whether they were empowered, as grantees of the duke, to set up a distinct government, and whether they were not still liable to the laws established in New York. The king's secretary, however, does not appear to have answered these legal questions. Wishing to know the right of the matter, the duke ordered his commissioners "to hear and make report to him concerning the customs demanded in New West Jersey in America, by his governor of New York." This was accordingly done. The Quakers' case was elaborately argued by Penn and others, who insisted that, in Berkeley's conveyance to them, "powers of government are expressly granted;" that the Duke of York had no authority to levy duties on the colonists in West Jersey, or exclude them of their "English right of common assent to taxes;" and then, adroitly alluding to "the Duke's circumstances and the people's jealousies," they submitted that as he had now the opportunity to free that country with his own hand, "so will Englishmen here know what to hope for, by the justice and kindness he shows to Englishmen there, and all men to see the just model of his government in New York to be the scheme and draft in little, of his administration in Old England at large, if the crown should ever devolve upon his head."†

1679.
19 Septem.
New Jersey
affairs.

Penn's argu-
ment
for the
Quakers.

This bold and able, but very sophistical argument, which so skillfully touched the duke's present "circumstances," would have been unanswerable, if its material allegation had been true, that powers of government were "expressly granted" in Berkeley's conveyance to Fenwick. But the

* Clarke's James II., i., 512-588; Temple, ii., 426-479; Courtenay's Temple, ii., 13-82; Burnet, i., 422-499; Dalrymple, i., 165-177, 261-274, 292, 327, 332, 335; N. Luttrell, i., 10, 21-22; Macculay, i., 229-257; Martin, i., 502-506.

† Index N. J. Col. Doc., 7; S. Smith, 117-124; Gordon, 40-42; ante, 266, 305, 320.

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